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*THE WESTERN-EDUCATED MAN IN INDIA*





THE  
Western-Educated Man in India

A STUDY OF HIS SOCIAL ROLES AND INFLUENCE

BY JOHN USEEM AND RUTH HILL USEEM

THE DRYDEN PRESS

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*To the Memory of*  
*JOHN FEE EMBREE*

It is fitting that we dedicate this book to John F. Embree, who early recognized the need for this study and shared in its formulation. In the summer of 1950, Dr. Embree prepared a cultural analysis of exchange programs for UNESCO and drafted recommendations for evaluation studies. He summed up his analysis in these words: "The realization that exchange of persons is the essence of culture contact and resulting culture change should in itself lead to better understanding of its processes and functions, and lead to more intelligent direction of these processes."

In December of 1950, Dr. Embree participated in a consultative conference of social scientists, convened by The Hazen Foundation, which framed the main outlines of the pilot project described in this book. His untimely death meant not only the loss to us of a good friend but also the loss of a great spirit and an outstanding student of cross-cultural relations for the social sciences.



## Preface

**W**IDESPREAD AGREEMENT that “exchange of persons is the essence of culture contact and resulting culture change” has emphasized the need for better understanding and more intelligent direction of exchange programs. To satisfy this need, a number of studies are being developed by social scientists. This book reports a study of the effectiveness of foreign education among Indian nationals.

The objective of this report is twofold: first, to present the results of a field investigation in India of the consequences of a Western education; and, second, to present proposals derived from the findings that may be of practical aid to policymakers and administrators interested in exchange of persons between countries.

In order to become familiar with the cultural forms and social life of returned foreign-educated persons, the investigators concentrated their field work in one part of India. Using the investigative methods of anthropology and sociology, they interviewed returned students and analyzed their roles within this environmental setting.

The study consists of five chapters, any one of which may be examined apart from the others. The first chapter describes the kind of persons in India who study abroad and the aims for which a foreign education is sought as commonly expressed in India and in the West. The former is essential to an understanding of the social



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groups from which individuals go abroad and of the groups into which they move after their return; the latter is essential to a clarification of assumptions regarding the purposes of foreign education. Criteria for the selection of the sample of foreign-educated in India with which the study is concerned and the methods employed in the research are also described.

Chapter 2 is concerned with changes in the character and outlook of Western-educated Indians—changes that are associated with their foreign education. Attention is given to the traits that individuals had prior to their visits abroad, to the changes that the foreign experience brought about, and to the modification of these changes subsequent to the individuals' return. In addition to the tracing of the content and causes of the changes common to the foreign-educated and the indication of individual differences in response to the foreign experience, illuminating contrasts between those who studied in Britain and those who studied in America are pointed out.

The third chapter centers about a key problem, namely, the role of the foreign-educated in the transfer of modern science, technical skills, and Western business and industrial methods to the home country.

The fourth chapter is concerned with the questions: Do persons who have studied and lived in another country acquire a genuine understanding of that country? And are they able to communicate this understanding to others in their own society? The authors suggest a set of norms for evaluating what is meant by international understanding and describe the images of the United Kingdom and of the United States that are prevalent among the persons who have studied in those countries. They also indicate qualities that make a foreign-educated person influential within his social groups and the conditions under which he can exert influence. The perceptive analysis of the interrelationship of knowledge, values, and power is especially instructive, for it enables the reader to grasp the complex of variables that enter into the attitudes that foreign-educated Indians have toward current world tensions.



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In Chapter 5 a series of recommendations for consideration by those directly concerned with exchange programs are presented. Supporting evidence is provided to enable the reader to assess independently the merits of each proposal. Mindful of existing resources and practices, the authors develop a series of constructive ideas that are modest in scope yet crucial for the achievement of the ends desired.

The Hazen Foundation undertook this inquiry into some of the long-range aspects of exchange programs, including both the experience and the influence of returnees, in order to gain a better understanding of such enterprises and thereby to make them more useful to the individuals and peoples concerned. That Professor John Useem and Dr. Ruth Useem became interested in the inquiry and then available as Directors was fortunate and has assured leadership for the venture with just the combination of skills, imagination, and experience deemed most essential. The research design was drafted by a group of social scientists who collaborated with the Directors in developing the plan. As part of its Area Research Center program, Michigan State College joined the Foundation in co-sponsoring the study.

The Foundation welcomes this opportunity to express its gratitude to all those who helped to develop the project and especially to John and Ruth Useem, who conducted the study and prepared their report with distinction. If their insights into the experience of foreign study and the methodology of evaluating it stimulate thought and discussion among those directly concerned and add impetus to further exploration of these crucial aspects of intercultural experience, the purpose of the inquiry will have been amply fulfilled.

*New Haven, Conn.*  
*September 1954*

Paul J. Braisted  
PRESIDENT, THE HAZEN FOUNDATION



## Acknowledgments

**T**HIS BOOK is the result of a project of The Edward W. Hazen Foundation. We are grateful to Paul J. Braisted, President of The Foundation, not only for the opportunity to make the study but also for his keen personal interest in helping us during every stage of the undertaking. A committee of The Foundation, consisting of Amiya Chakravarty, Paul Domke, Allan R. Holmberg, Marie Jahoda, Otto Klineberg, Cornelius Kruse, Clarence Linton, Franklin D. Scott, and the late John F. Embree, gave us the benefit of their thinking in the design of the study.

Michigan State College is a co-sponsor, and this study is a project of the Area Research Center. We sincerely appreciate the enthusiastic support accorded to our work by Charles P. Loomis, Head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and Director of the Area Research Center.

Our research was carried on in cooperation with the Social Science Research Council. We wish to thank the Committee on Cross-Cultural Education—especially Cora DuBois, members of the Social Science Research Council staff, and our colleagues engaged in comparable research elsewhere.

We appreciate the many courtesies extended to us by the Governments of India and Bombay State, where officials on all levels generously made available their records and indicated their policies. The

## Acknowledgments

authorities in charge of overseas students at India House, in London, especially A. M. D'Rozario, and M. S. Sundaram of the Indian Embassy at Washington provided useful information.

British government officials in the United Kingdom and in India graciously supplied detailed facts we needed. American officials in India were ever ready to extend their assistance. We wish to thank, in particular, Olive Reddick, Everett Drumright, Lawrence Wilson, Phyllis Ulrickson, Gordon Schlubatis, and M. J. Hatten.

Because our informants who served as case studies remain anonymous by mutual consent, we are unable to thank each one here by name. We hope that their willingness to participate in the time-consuming discussion, to relate in detail their life histories, and to permit us to observe at first hand their everyday activities will seem to them, on reading this report, not entirely futile, even though at some points our opinions may vary from theirs.

The heads of colleges, universities, and scientific laboratories, the managing agents of Indian business enterprises and the managers of foreign firms, the directors of government departments, the staffs of political parties, and missionaries are thanked once more for allowing us free access to their organizations.

For the hospitality we received, we are indebted to the civic authorities and people of Poona (our residence) and to the residents of the various villages, towns, and cities that we visited in Bombay State. Special thanks are extended to Governor G. Bajpai of Bombay State, Drs. D. Karve, I. Karve, S. Chandrasekhar, G. I. Finch, N. B. Perulakar, G. S. Krishnayya, L. S. Kumar, W. W. Wagle, Professors D. R. Gadgil, R. S. Rege, Messrs. V. Kamath, D. N. Khurody, V. Kurien, and Frank Moraes.

Miss Prabha Asar acted as our research assistant and Mr. Santi Priya Bose and Dr. Irawati Karve gave us the benefit of their reading of the manuscript.

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For the conclusions of this study we alone are responsible, although they would not have been possible without the aid of those mentioned above.

For intelligent and efficient stenographic assistance in the preparation of the manuscript, our thanks are due to Ann Butler Reed.

Finally, we wish to express our sincere appreciation to Stanley Burnshaw and David Klein of The Dryden Press.

J. U.

R. H. U.



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*THE WESTERN-EDUCATED MAN IN INDIA*



## The Nature of This Study

ONE OF THE most far-reaching changes, in a century of profound change, involves the relationship between the Western and non-Western worlds. Modern science and technology, acculturation and world markets, and redistribution of power are making the old East-West divisions obsolete. The backward economies and lower levels of living of the non-Western world are no longer viewed as normal; the more advanced countries are endeavoring to aid the development of the less well endowed. The latter, in turn, are actively seeking the knowledge and the means to develop along modern lines. In this historical context, the age-old custom of interchange of students between societies has taken on new significance.

In such a world setting, it is perhaps fitting that one of the recent developments has been the use of modern science in the appraisal of events and the direction of social change. One of the areas in which the methods of social science have thus been applied comprises the evaluation of the effectiveness of programs of student exchange. This study is but one of a series of studies designed to assess the long-range consequences of the interchange of members of different societies and to recommend further action on the basis of the findings.

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As a pilot study it is confined to Indian students who have taken training in the United Kingdom and in the United States and is designed to explore the results of a foreign education for the person, for his society, and for cross-cultural relations. Feasibility compelled us to limit our universe of study. If we were to comprehend the full scope of the exchange of students, our study would have had to include Asian, African, and Western students in India, and Indian students in other countries.

### *INTRODUCTION TO THE FOREIGN-EDUCATED<sup>1</sup>*

#### *Country of Foreign Study*

Most Indians who have gone abroad for an education have attended schools in either the United Kingdom or the United States. Smaller numbers have gone to schools on the European continent—France, Germany, Holland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Portugal, and Italy; others have studied in the three Commonwealth countries—Canada, Australia, and New Zealand; and still others have gone to Japan, China, Russia, and Mexico.

In the modern era, Indians began to go abroad for foreign study about the middle of the nineteenth century. Prior to 1900, however, only a few students went, but after the turn of the century, the number began to increase. The increase was related to these factors: (1) the disintegration of the opposition by the orthodox, who deemed study abroad an irreligious act that warranted the drastic punishment of throwing the returned traveler out of caste; (2) the increasing employment advantages in being foreign-educated; (3) the ex-

<sup>1</sup>For those who have been educated in a foreign country and who are residing in India, Indians have a series of terms: foreign-educated, foreign-returned, foreign-trained, foreign-qualified, Western-educated, and so on. Although there are some shades of difference among these terms, we have used them interchangeably in this report.

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pansion of the educated population who were able to enroll for a higher education in foreign universities and colleges; (4) the emergence in certain segments of India of a social style of life that included study abroad; (5) the realization among social leaders that the Western world had much to offer in the way of modern knowledge and skills that were useful for the future development of India; and (6) the creation of funds and programs to help Indians obtain a foreign education.

From the end of World War I until the depression in the 1930's, Indian students went to England by the shipload. During these years, some, motivated partly by hostility to the British regime in India, chose to study elsewhere—mainly in Japan, on the continent of Europe, and in the United States. The United States attracted students when it became known not only as a leading nation in the world but also as a place where it was possible for the student to support himself while going to school. After World War II there was another wave of student emigrants. Just before World War II there were 1500 Indians enrolled in academic institutions of the United Kingdom, and in 1951-1952 there were about 3250. Between 100 and 200 Indian students were in American schools prior to World War II, and in 1953-1954 there were 1486. The postwar surge also raised the number of students in other countries to new highs.

Indians comprise the largest single group of overseas students in the United Kingdom, and currently they rank third in order of number among foreign students in the United States.<sup>2</sup> There are at least three reasons why the main flow of Indian students has been to Great Britain. (1) When the British ruled India, the government encouraged Indians to study in the homeland by a firm

<sup>2</sup>The numbers and relative ranking fluctuate from year to year. The Institute of International Education in its 1954 annual census lists the following countries as having over 1000 students in the United States: Canada (4775), China (2535), India (1486), Philippine Islands (1388), Japan (1294), Mexico (1288), Colombia (1207), and Germany (1037). From *Education for One World*, May 1954.

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policy of giving them preference in employment over those educated in other countries. To study in America was to risk being hard put to it to get a suitable appointment in the administration, in foreign-owned firms, or in the colleges and universities controlled by the government, since American degrees were not considered equivalent to British degrees. Following Indian independence, the official policy of discrimination against the American-trained Indian was abolished, and the social pressure to study only in the United Kingdom has largely receded. In many of the traditional academic fields British degrees still carry higher prestige than do those from American schools, but in technical fields and in the applied sciences, American degrees are becoming more highly esteemed.

(2) An education for a foreign student costs less per year in the United Kingdom than in the United States, and this disparity has increased by nearly 25 percent during the past few years.<sup>3</sup> Any single set of figures is likely to be somewhat misleading owing to the wide range of individual expenditures. We computed the total remembered outlays, including the transportation costs to and from a foreign country and the costs of living in that country, for our sample population. The average yearly outlay for an Indian student prior to independence was Rs 4800 in Britain and Rs 6000 in America. Since then, the mean annual expenditure has been slightly under Rs 7000 in the United Kingdom and Rs 12,500 in the United States. Because of a difference in the average length of stay in each country, the full amount spent by the student in the United Kingdom is considerably smaller. More than half the students in the United Kingdom return to India at the end of two years, whereas only a third of those in the United States leave for home after the same lapse of time.

(3) The tradition of studying in the United Kingdom is well entrenched in many Indian families, who are accustomed to send

<sup>3</sup>Devaluation of Indian money in relation to the American dollar is an important element in this change. Before 1949, 1 *rupee* had an exchange value of about one third of a dollar and after that date, a value of about one fifth of a dollar.

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their sons and daughters abroad for foreign study. Only recently has study in America become an acceptable alternative in some social circles and the fashion in others.

#### *Trends in Types of Foreign Study*

The following fourfold classification of the kind of education received in the West helps to put various types of training into perspective. The largest group comprises individuals who attend academic institutions of higher learning. In the earlier years students went abroad primarily to qualify for a B.A. degree. Although the degree in the arts or humanities was not, in a strict sense, a professional one, it served as one in fact, for it enabled the Indian graduate to obtain a position in the administrative services or in teaching. A second option was to study law or medicine, for some time the only other professional careers open to Indians.

After about 1920, the natural and social sciences, engineering, agriculture, and other technical disciplines became respectable and available occupations that enabled the holder of such a degree to obtain gainful work after his return to India. Since the 1940's, a high premium has been placed on specialized forms of technical skills, which by the end of the decade had been fairly well narrowed down to such fields as agronomy, statistics, and electrical engineering. This newer emphasis developed out of several beliefs: (1) that after independence and the subsequent withdrawal of the British there would be an acute shortage of technicians; (2) that these fields would be important in the development of the country; and (3) that there would be an expansion of Indian-owned industrial enterprises. In spite of these changes in the homeland, the flow of Indians who enrolled for a B.A. degree continued, even though the government was not entirely convinced that many of them would be able to use the degree to improve their prospects in life. From 1930 on, in report after report from the Education Department in London the large number of Indian students "who come here to

take vague courses in Arts and Sciences which, even if successfully completed, are not in themselves qualifications for employment and besides could equally well have been taken at Indian universities" was viewed with apprehension. A substantial number, however, still migrate overseas to earn a B.A. degree, and they travel mostly to England for that level of training. Nevertheless, a preponderant majority of students in both the United Kingdom and the United States have graduate training in a profession or a technical field as their formal goal.

A second and more recently developed type of training abroad consists of practical experience in foreign enterprises, such as factories, hospitals, laboratories, and commercial offices. For a few, the training is an integral part of their academic course, but for most, the work experience is acquired apart from any academic curriculum. Some are sent abroad by foreign-owned firms for the purpose of getting firsthand knowledge about the company's operations before being assigned to a job in the company's Indian branch. Others go from Indian-owned firms to study comparable industries or to learn certain skills. And still others, on their own initiative, go to gain practical experience that will improve their bargaining power or to master the organization and management of a going concern, so that the knowledge can be used in setting up a similar concern in India.

A more traditional class of students is made up of young people who as children or young adolescents are sent to foreign schools. With only occasional visits back home during vacations, these individuals often attend a succession of foreign schools until they reach early adulthood. Upon completion of a higher education, they return to take their places in Indian society. Formerly this type of education was confined to the elite. At the present time it seems to be growing in popularity among sections of the *nouveau riche* families who are eager to have their children "properly educated" along Western lines. Most frequently the children are sent to British schools.

Finally, there is a group of persons who go abroad for short trips



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in the form of study tours. This category includes persons who visit a number of different countries to make firsthand observations of a specific subject: how government agencies deal with their welfare problems, the recent developments in the textile industry, the newer methods or techniques in a science, and the like. Sometimes educational tours last from several months to more than a year, and during that time the individual is seeking to understand Western thinking or to find in a more advanced country potentialities for improving Indian life.

Until comparatively recently, only men went overseas to get an education. Although occasionally in the early years of the present century a woman studied abroad, the practice did not become commonplace until the last few decades. There has been a recent increase in the number of women seeking training in the West; nevertheless, the number remains comparatively small. There are now about 300 Indian women students in England and nearly 190 in America.

### *Class Background*

The bulk of the foreign-educated are middle class both in social origin and in present status. Families of the old aristocracy and families that have only recently accumulated great wealth are not without members who have studied abroad. These elites, however, seldom have a family tradition that impels them to send successive generations to Cambridge or M.I.T. or even to Indian colleges and universities for a higher education.<sup>4</sup> There are, of course, foreign-educated who come from poor families, but the lower classes ordinarily have not been able to finance higher education for their children either at home or abroad.

Within the middle classes the economic position of the families

<sup>4</sup>Cf. D. P. Mukerji, *Modern Indian Culture* (Bombay: Hind Kitabs Ltd., 2nd ed., 1948), and Bruce T. McCully, *English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940).

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from which the foreign-trained come has proved to be surprisingly unstable. In many cases the economic status of the family has changed during the life of the person. The last fifteen years, in particular, have been marked by fluidity as a consequence of the changes in India precipitated by World War II, independence, the partition of the subcontinent into India and Pakistan, inflation, and the realignment of power within the country. The life histories of the foreign-returned disclosed cases in which the person belonged to a family that was rated as being upper-middle class when he was a child and is now rated as middle-middle, or in which the reverse was true. A number who went overseas at a time when their families occupied a certain station in the community returned home to a family whose status had changed appreciably. These changes more often have been alterations in economic fortune than in social rank. The middle classes, in general, have been under severe pressures, for, unlike the upper classes, they have only limited reserves to draw upon, and, unlike the lower classes, there are only a limited number of gainfully employed in the household.

Stated broadly, the families of the foreign-educated in the upper-middle class aim less toward climbing into the highest class than toward bolstering their position in society and guarding against slipping downward in a precarious world. The foreign-trained may count as a family asset, but, except for families that have suffered an economic disaster, they are not viewed as the indispensable element that assures status survival. Lower-middle-class families depend on the foreign-trained to help them move up a level or at least to prevent the fearful drop into the lower social classes. Families of the middle-middle class appear to be neither so self-sufficient nor so dependent on their foreign-trained members.

A striking change seems to have taken place in the class background of those with American educations. Before independence, 40 percent of our sample Indian students in the United States and only 5 percent in the United Kingdom were self-supporting. Young people from poor homes went on a shoestring for an education in

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America. Some worked on a ship for their passage, and many got jobs soon after their arrival to cover their needs. Lately the opportunity to come with slim resources has been curtailed. The United States now requires the prospective student to prove before departure from India that he has the means with which to meet his expenses and restricts the amount of gainful employment that he can do on a student visa. The lower-middle-class student must obtain funds in India or give up his dream of studying in America. Furthermore, there is a tendency among more of the upper-middle-class families to send their children to the United States for advanced training. No significant change is evident in the class background of Indian students in Britain; families of moderate means and high ambitions continue, as in the past, to save up sufficient funds over the years to finance their children's education there as do the wealthy families who send their young.

#### *Means of Support During Stay Abroad*

A breakdown of the financial sources that support the Indian student overseas is bound to be somewhat deceptive. It is a common practice to combine funds obtained from a variety of sources—family savings, gifts and loans from relatives, scholarships from Indian and Western schools, government scholarships, part loans and part grants-in-aid from community trusts, and so on. There are hidden subsidies, as well, that cannot be computed, such as the pattern of Indian families' maintenance of the wives and children of students while they are abroad.

The data we collected indicate that two out of five rely primarily on their families to meet the costs of their foreign education. The young and those who have not held jobs in India are supported far more often by the family than are others. Indian government grants-in-aid for foreign training were limited in scope before independence. Under the British, study leaves were authorized for persons in the permanent administrative services at the end of five years and pro-

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vided roughly for the continuation of one half of the person's salary during the period overseas. Another program provided for the sending of permanent government employees on deputation for special training or observation and allowed a larger grant for support than the preceding one. Also of long standing are the university-granted overseas scholarships, some of which have been indirectly financed by the government. These have been continued into the present.

Indian government programs took a new direction after 1945. An inventory of the country's manpower in the sciences, the technical fields, and the professions showed a serious deficit in relation to the anticipated development of the country.<sup>5</sup> As a result, an Overseas Scholarships Scheme was adopted. The Union and the State governments in cooperation sent about 890 students to the West. In 1948 the schedule was revised downward after it became apparent that the supply of the newly foreign-educated exceeded the prevailing demand. A modified scheme on a limited scale has been continued. In addition, informal arrangements have been worked out by which private firms and the governments share the cost of industrial training and working experience abroad for a small group of men.

International organizations and foreign governments have developed a variety of programs for the exchange of students in the post-war years. The Colombo Plan of the Commonwealth of Nations has arranged for the sending of 500 Indians to study in the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Several United Nations agencies provide for study tours. The American government through the U.S. Educational Foundation in India and the Foreign Operations Administration (formerly known as the Technical Cooperation Administration or Point Four) awarded 200 grants-in-aid for foreign study to Indian students in 1951 and continues to subsidize Indian students in America. A number of Euro-

<sup>5</sup>*Report of the Scientific Manpower Committee* (New Delhi: Ministry of Education, 1949).

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pean governments have invited Indian technicians and scientists to come for further training to their countries.

Altogether, 20 percent of the British and 6 percent of the American cases in our pre-independence sample had their education paid for by some governmental scheme. Since independence, the percentage has more than doubled among those educated in the United Kingdom and multiplied five times for those educated in the United States.<sup>6</sup>

Trust funds set up by subcastes to help their own members and community funds open to Indians of any group, although still used, have declined in importance; their usage has fallen off by one half among the American-educated and by one third among the British-educated. Unlike other forms of assistance, many of the community funds for overseas study are loans to be paid back with interest. Still, when no outright grant-in-aid is available, or when the aid covers only part of the costs, these funds are tapped. After independence, 18 percent of those trained in Britain and 10 percent of those trained in the United States were financed in whole or in part by community trust funds.

Since independence, private groups, foundations, and industries have financed almost a fifth of the foreign-educated. These include such groups as International Rotary, the American Association of University Women, the Methodist Church, the Rockefeller, Wattemul, and Ford Foundations, the Institute of International Education, Burmah Shell, General Motors, and the United States Rubber Company. In addition, many Indian students are given scholarships and fellowships by Western institutions; such sources of aid are of long standing, but they have become more common in the past few years.

<sup>6</sup>The main reason for the higher rate of increase in the American cases is that Indian policies, as mentioned above, have changed. The few who were sent under public grants before 1947 were aided by princely states rather than by the British administration. Government policy under the Overseas Scholarships Scheme called for the sending of approximately equal numbers to the United Kingdom and the United States.

THE AIMS OF A FOREIGN EDUCATION

Any appraisal of a social enterprise that straddles two or more cultures must take into account the expectations and assumptions of the members of both societies. The aims of a foreign education cannot be isolated from the environment in which they originate; they are related to economic, political, and educational conditions within a society, to the relationships between societies, and to changes in perspective in response to the dynamic processes of historical development.

It is tempting to assume that in the interchange of students between countries the interests of both sets of participants are much alike. In reality, there are disparities in points of view, both within and between societies, that preclude a true evaluation of aims. To analyze this point further, a comparison is made of the opinions of Indians, British, and Americans about the aims of a foreign education and the environments in which these three sets of aims are formulated.

A summary of the opinions on the present need for a foreign education expressed to us by Indian leaders in government, business, and education shows that these leaders give primacy to the formation of a class of trained men able to occupy positions of responsibility and capable of adapting their foreign-acquired knowledge to Indian conditions. The leaders mention the need for educated persons who dedicate themselves to contributing to the country's development, which demands skill in utilizing local resources, realism in proposals on the transference of modern methods and technology to India, and competence which can produce better-than-average results in the performance of their work. They also want the foreign-trained persons to be able to exercise discrimination in what they learn in another country—in their personal habits, ideas, and values.

There are many thoughtful persons in India who are troubled not

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only by the number of students who seek foreign training in the West but also by the changes that take place in the students. Although only a few of these thoughtful observers challenge the worthwhileness of foreign training at this time, many are concerned about the advisability of foreign study for the young and inexperienced, the ability of the holder of a foreign degree to readjust to Indian standards, the capacity of the country to absorb the foreign-trained in useful work, and the extent to which Western knowledge and practices can be constructively applied by the foreign-trained to the solution of Indian problems. Although opinions differ as to the time, there is a strong underlying hope that sometime in the foreseeable future India will be able to provide a larger part of its own educational needs.

A review of the American literature on the exchange of persons reveals points of view which, although not in conflict with the above opinions, differ in emphasis. These differences reflect a fundamental distinction between the two countries—the preoccupation of India with internal affairs and that of the United States with external affairs. American discussants of the exchange of students comment on the importance of such aims as solidifying the free world and building “a greater spirit of unity, hope, and determination among free people,” creation of “positive attitudes of respect for America; a better acquaintance with and understanding of her people,” promotion of “greater friendliness among foreign students” so that after their return they will translate “the American way of life into terms which their own people will understand.”

In a discussion of this difference, Indian informants will acknowledge the desirability of better international understanding, and some may mention that the student abroad is a “cultural ambassador,” but this topic was seldom broached by the informants we met. When we introduced the subject, they conceded that it was a good thing and then passed on to other subjects that seemed of greater immediate significance. One informant in India aptly explained:

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We don't give much thought to international policies on this subject because we had no policy under foreign rule that was our own. The going of students abroad was not to broaden understanding of the world; going abroad was a way to better one's position and to serve the country. Foreign policy was a matter between governments and not for people. We are like Americans were some years ago.

The combination of youth, education, and the desire to help in the development of a country that is earnestly struggling to advance has an especial appeal for American discussants, for these values are congruent with American values. The Indians we met agree with Americans as to the worthwhileness of America's helping to train the future leaders of a country that is not so well endowed; but they are more skeptical about what youth can do and prefer to place their trust in mature persons who have had practical experience and have reached a stage in life where their judgments are likely to be wiser. Americans tend to be more hopeful about the transfer of American technology and methods of dealing with problems by means of foreign students than are most of our Indian informants. American conferences on the exchange of students pay much less attention to what would fit the requirements of a country such as India than do Indian groups concerned with the same problem.

British conceptions have been revised as the nation's position with respect to India has changed from that of the superordinate to that of an associate in the Commonwealth. A foreign power governing a subordinate people had to have loyal assistants among the governed to aid in its administration. The basis of British educational schemes for over a hundred years was epitomized by Macaulay in his classic statement of 1835:

We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and intellect.



### *The Nature of This Study*

The architects of British policies aspired to create a new elite imbued with Western culture who would aid in the "diffusion of the Arts, Science, Philosophy and Literature of Europe." An independent India established a new framework within which the British aims of an education for overseas students correspond more closely to those of America than to those of India.

Indian students in Britain, however, are not viewed in the same light as in America. Americans feel the need to inform the people of India about the American way of life and to dispel anti-American attitudes in India; the British are free of these self-imposed burdens. The British assume that most Indians are reasonably well informed about the British national character and international policies; they are not impelled to build up a fund of good will, for, since independence, British prestige in India has been high. Furthermore, the British are less anxious about being liked and understood by others than are Americans. The Indian student in England is still regarded as an intermediary between Britain and India, but there is not the same degree of intensity or sense of mission as in America. The United States as a new world power and as the pivotal leader of the democratic nations in the world of power has a different environment from that of the British in which to view the foreign student.

As the leaders of any society talk about the aims of an enterprise that is of public concern, their attention is mobilized around the fulfillment of many different social needs. Thus, it is hoped that a foreign education can provide simultaneously many types of benefits—the training of promising individuals for future leadership, the development of skills and knowledge that will prove useful to a country that is in short supply of both, the cultivation of good will and mutual understanding between nations, and so on. All these declared ends may be achieved in varying degrees; yet, they do not form a single, integrated unit, and each end is affected by a different set of circumstances. Thus, it is necessary to untangle the assumptions in order to discover the factors that bear directly upon the possible accomplishment of such disparate aims.

## HOW THIS STUDY WAS MADE

### *Locale of the Study*

We spent the period of a year in 1953-1954 gathering the life histories of a sample of 110 foreign-educated men and women: tracing their present roles in the world of work, exploring the influence of their ideas about the West in the community and society, and trying to capture the spirit of the culture in which their lives are embedded.

We did not want to attempt a nation-wide survey. It might give the appearance of comprehensiveness, but it would be at the expense of genuine comprehension. The choice of where to reside and do our field work had to be an arbitrary one, for there is no one place in India that can be called "typical." As a country, India is subcontinental in size and is composed of twenty-eight states. Its population of more than 350 million consists of a great variety of different peoples, languages, and ways of life. Our discussions with individuals who were familiar with diverse parts of the country led us to the conclusion that no one place would have, in miniature, all the crucial aspects of India but that Bombay State came as close to the ideal as we could hope for. Consequently, we chose to confine our study to Bombay State.

Bombay State is in the west-central sector of the country. It is an area of more than one hundred thousand square miles and has a population of nearly 36 million. There are three distinguishable regions, each with its own distinctive traditions, language, and social arrangements: Gujarat in the north, Maharashtra in the center, and Karnatak in the south. The indigenous inhabitants of these regions are known as Gujaratis, Maharashtrians, and Kannadigas, respectively. Although the vast majority are Hindus, there are smaller groups of Muslims (Mohammedans), Jains, Christians (both Catholic and Protestant), Marwaris from Rajasthan, Hindu refugees from Sind, which is now in Pakistan, and an assortment of minorities

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from almost every part of India. Some states are more homogeneous, but most have at least a few groups who originate outside the locality.

Bombay State has a larger urban population than the majority of states. Here 31 percent live in cities, although only 17 percent of India's total population is classified as urban. The state sometimes is referred to as one of the more "progressive" places, by which is meant that Western and modern influences have had a greater impact on social life. This is a half-truth; for, although there are sections that are widely influenced by Western norms, there are other sections that are predominantly traditional. Even in the larger cities there are large segments that continue to adhere closely to the customs of their forefathers.

We resided part of the year in Bombay City and the rest of the time in Poona, a city in the heart of Maharashtra, which has a population of about 480,000 and contains both a number of colleges and state-government departments. Altogether, eight towns and cities in the three regions were surveyed to gain a comparative view of the foreign-educated.

Although some of the foreign-trained stem from villages, they tend to settle in the urban centers, a pattern that is also characteristic of those who gain their higher education in India. They are pulled in this direction by superior employment opportunities, the higher incomes of nonagricultural work, and the modern amenities for living. They also are pushed in this direction by villagers who regard it as peculiar, if not a sign of failure, for a foreign-trained person to stay permanently in a village. It was put succinctly by the neighbor of a foreign-educated man who had settled in a village: "What are you doing here? You are foreign-qualified; you don't belong here."

The exceptions to this generalization fall into two classes: the sons of wealthy landowners who return to manage the family land and the unusual men and women who have dedicated themselves to social-service work among cultivators. Even though the foreign-trained in villages are not numerous, we tried to locate as many of them as we could so as to widen the range of our sample.

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### *The Sample*

Our target was to get interviews with 100 foreign-educated; the final number was 110. In drawing a sample we were faced with the fact that no one knows with any certainty the number and distribution of the foreign-educated in Bombay State. The principles that guided our selection of persons to study in detail were these. In point of time, we included none who had returned to India prior to 1935 and, at the other end, only those who had been back in India for at least one year (roughly, since 1951).<sup>7</sup> The quota was divided equally between individuals who had returned to India before independence (1947) and those who had returned since. The sample was further subdivided to include equal numbers of those educated in the United Kingdom and the United States.

We screened cases from three kinds of organization: government, private enterprise, and academic institutions. A fourth category was used to cover special types of cases, such as the unemployed, political and civic leaders, welfare workers in private agencies, and the like. Within the three main categories we concentrated on the foreign-educated whose work is primarily connected with engineering, agriculture, the natural and social sciences, and administration.<sup>8</sup> The pooled sample contains approximately the same number of cases from each subdivision.

Our completed sample includes roughly equal proportions from the three regional groups, plus representatives from each of the main minorities in Bombay State. In the selection process we kept an eye

<sup>7</sup>Because of this latter restriction, we did not have many from some of the more recently expanded programs, for example, Fulbright, Colombo, United Nations, industrial programs, and so on.

<sup>8</sup>The categories were selected largely on the advice of Indians who assessed these areas as crucial in Indian life and as fields in which foreign-educated were concentrated. Medical personnel were excluded in part because of the mistaken information we had that a study in that area was in progress and in part because we had to set a limit to the study somewhere.

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out for the obscure to balance the prominent and for persons in various social strata.

The delineations within the sample population are actually less clear-cut than they appear when stated in principle. Thus, some academic institutions have faculties who count as regular members of the government service, and in any organization an individual may have both technical and administrative responsibilities.

Two other groups were interviewed. One was the constellation of persons around the foreign-trained in the organizations where they are employed. Where possible, this included the superiors, peers, and subordinates of the sample foreign-trained. The other group comprised fifty individuals in Bombay State who were rated either as men with influence in the area, whose opinions carry weight in the formation of public policies, or as persons who had a great deal of experience with, and insight into, the subject under study.

### *Research Techniques*

Persons who were earnestly trying to be helpful dropped hints that we should be wary in accepting as bona fide the information that we obtained from others. Maharashtrians would mention the "silver tongue" of the Gujaratis, and the Gujaratis would dwell on how hard it is to get anything out of the mouth of a Maharashtrian; persons who talked freely in relating their own life histories intimated that few others would be so frank; and informants who gave us confidential details about their community or organization said that they were willing to do so in order to aid a scientific study that otherwise might be hampered by the failure of others in the group to offer us an authentic picture of reality.

The materials we wanted usually elicited a sympathetic response; the topic itself appeared to be no threat to the vested interests of anyone and is not a sensitive zone in social life. We occasionally had trouble in locating or establishing rapport with the person we had

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chosen for the sample: some were too busy to spend the time required, whereas others talked at great length without disclosing very much of relevance or revealed no internal consistency in what they told. These cases were replaced in the sample by persons who matched them in the criteria used for selecting the sample.

Every culture has its own patterns of communication, and we had to learn how to appraise the content of information in relation to the indigenous patterns. Most of the Indians whom we formally interviewed and with whom we informally associated were articulate, facile in speech, and clever in conveying their thoughts.<sup>9</sup> Seldom did a person discuss more than one side of an issue, even though this often meant ignoring contrary facts known to him. Rarely did an individual say much that was favorable about another and sometimes, unless prodded, even acted as though others in the same field of work did not exist. As Americans we are habituated to "splitting the difference" between contrasting opinions, and so our disposition was to look for the middle ground. This was not easy to find when the answers piled up on one side. After considerable experimentation, we discovered that an indirect approach and oblique questions reduced the likelihood of evoking a one-dimensional discussion and of centering the informant's verbal hostilities on a single target. Again and again we checked the validity of the information collected, but no doubt in some situations we have made errors in what we have interpreted to be the actual facts.

The life-history documents were organized around a schedule that was designed to obtain an account of the individual's social origins and experiences prior to study abroad, his version of the salient events while overseas and how these appeared to him in retrospect, and stages in the adjustment to India since his return. We probed

<sup>9</sup>In contrast with many other cross-cultural studies, a severe language barrier did not hinder us. Not only were the foreign-returned competent in the English language but also the non-foreign-trained in the areas of business, government, and academic life. No doubt we could have gotten more cultural dimensions if we had been able to speak and read fluently the three main languages of Bombay State.

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for factual information, attitudes, and specific incidents of significance in the lives of our informants. The schedule was used in the form of a check list during the interview, and notes were openly recorded as the interview proceeded. Some of the questions were projective in character; for these the individual was asked to comment on quotations about foreign training and the foreign-trained, to indicate what advice he would give to persons who were thinking of studying abroad, and to react to short stories pertaining to the foreign-trained in India. Three fourths of the formal questions were open-ended, and a completed schedule contained responses to slightly under a hundred items.

The total time devoted to an interview varied widely. The minimum was three hours, and the maximum was in excess of thirty-five hours. The shorter interviews occurred when the individual case proved to be very much like others already collected; the longer ones were those in which the individual's life exemplified and illuminated a specific configuration or deviated sharply from others. In two out of three cases the short form seemed sufficient for our purpose. Besides the arranged interview, we attempted wherever possible to get to know the person more completely by visiting with him at his place of work, in his home, and at our home and by becoming directly acquainted with the social circles in which he moved.

Field surveys were made within the organizations which employed the foreign-educated to learn how they fitted into the bureaucratic structures, how they were treated in the distribution of opportunities, their work assignments in the division of labor, and their roles as innovators. We surveyed organizations in which the number of foreign-trained on the staff varied from one to many, in which the heads were and were not foreign-trained, and which were both old and newly formed enterprises.

Little empirical research within the framework of modern social science has been done in Bombay State on the areas of organized social life that we were exploring. We think that we have only scratched the surface of the social terrain, and our conclusions on

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the organizational aspects of Indian life should be taken as being no more than impressions gleaned from field observations.

Similarly, we feel that we can make only tentative and provisional generalizations about the culture of India and more specifically about the subcultures in which we worked. We tried to find out as much as we could and probed for cultural significance at every turn. There is very little published in English on the present cultural life of the area. Both the foreign-returned and others were extremely patient in explaining things that were obvious to them but baffling to us. Without the cultural dimensions, much of the data is meaningless.

The decision to concentrate our attention on three foci—the impact of a foreign education on the individual, the use of a foreign education in the world of work, and the implications of a foreign education for international understanding—was dictated by what seemed to be the paramount interests among those concerned with the effectiveness of a foreign education. The original research design also included interpersonal relations within the joint family<sup>10</sup> and the conjugal family of the foreign-educated. Preliminary field work indicated that the parental families of our sample were scattered all over India, and, hence, for reasons of economy in effort and funds, no attempt was made to interview the dispersed kin of the foreign-trained. We do have some information on the relationships of the foreign-trained with their wives and children, but for a variety of reasons this area is incomplete. Rather than draw conclusions from incomplete data, we have omitted this subject from our final report except for those cases in which family and work interlock and data could be verified.

In appraising the findings, the simple division into success or failure is too crude and too simple to indicate fairly the effectiveness

<sup>10</sup>In principle, the traditional "joint family" consists of a man, his wife, his unmarried daughters, his sons and their wives and children, all of whom occupy a common household and share both income and expenses. In actual practice, there are many variations. See Irawati Karve, *Kinship Organisation in India* (Poona, India: Deccan College Monograph Series 11, 1953).



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of a foreign education. When statistical figures are meaningful, we have cited them; the data as a whole do not lend themselves to refined quantification or tests of significance. We have attempted to make explicit our norms where we have made evaluations of data so that the reader will know the values used by the researchers.



## 2

### Changes in the Character and Outlook of the Individual

THE FOREIGN-EDUCATED, with but few exceptions (three out of one hundred ten), rate their foreign experience as beneficial to their character and outlook. Though self-advancement is ranked by the foreign-returned as the main purpose in studying abroad, self-improvement is rated as the most important reward from the period abroad. For most, the former was part of the motivation for going away to study, whereas the latter was largely an unanticipated result.

The following review of the changes in the individual consequent to an education in England or America is concerned first with changes common to the group and second with changes found within subsections of the sample.

#### THE NATURE OF PERSONAL CHANGES

##### *General Readiness to Change*

The individual life histories reveal that prior to their departure for a foreign education the persons tended to question things, to be disaffected with some of the existing beliefs, and to feel alienated

from some phases of their culture. What they were critical of varies widely—it might be an authoritarian family, the traditional practices of the community, religious practices, the presence of foreign rulers, or the larger order of social life. Discontent has been fairly widespread in India; the middle classes especially have been dissatisfied, and the educated members of the scheduled (“untouchable”) castes have been critical of the traditional social system which allocated status positions by birth rather than by merit. Hence, the state of mind among those who became foreign students was not greatly different from that of large numbers of other people. The significance, however, is this: the persons who went abroad had a better chance to discover something different from what they had known before, to try out new patterns of life, to crystallize their vague hopes, and to find substitute patterns and values. To sum up, for many of them the eagerness to change was present prior to a foreign education. The foreign education gave them greater power for change.

A general readiness to change, however, is not uniform throughout the sample. There is a higher percentage of persons eager to experiment with new ways among those who went away before independence than among those who went after independence. This may be restated thus: when India was under foreign rule, there were two who were disposed to challenge the status quo to every one who was not; since India has been free, there is one who challenges to four who do not.

A regrouping of the cases reveals four factors that determine this relationship.

1. There is a significant difference between students who are members of families that customarily have sent the most promising of their young people abroad to study and students who are the first, if not the only, members of their families to study abroad. The incidence of a long-felt desire for a better life tends to be higher in the cases where a person is making the first break out of the routine style of life than in the cases where careers were planned by the family. This was almost equally true before and after independence.

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2. A comparable difference occurs between students from well-established communities (with wealth, status, and power) and those from communities that either are entrapped in a disadvantageous position or are moving up. Persons from entrapped communities are looking for an escape, and those from upwardly mobile communities have their eyes on enlarged opportunities. This differentiation, too, is about equally true for the two periods: Young men from the villages, the scheduled ("untouchable") castes, and other lower castes, as well as from lower-middle classes, continue to show greater dissatisfaction with their lot and greater receptivity to change.

3. Another division exists between students who belong to subsections of the society that are in intellectual and social ferment or in political opposition and those students who belong to subsections that lack these features. The Chitpowan Brahmans of Maharashtra tended to rear young men who were hostile to the foreign rulers and intellectuals in search of a philosophy of life; whereas the Parsees, who were identified with the foreign regime, and the Brahmans of Gujarat, who were neither engaged in social reforms nor attracted to intellectual issues, were rearing young men less inclined to question the status quo.

4. A final classification subdivides the students into those who are real personal deviants from their social groups and those who are essentially conformists. The deviants can find an out for their interpersonal conflicts by escaping to a foreign society or are encouraged to go by their families in the belief that the deviants will change after a foreign experience. The conformists went for other reasons.

These are some examples of personal deviants: One man early in life decided to devote his entire life to the nationalist movement. When he became deeply disillusioned with the actions taken by the leaders in whom he had put his faith, he went to England to forget. Another man had quarreled constantly with his older brother since childhood. When the older brother became head of the joint family, he offered to finance his younger brother's education in England to prepare for the Indian Civil Service (I.C.S.). The younger brother

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chose to go to America primarily because his brother had been to England and was in the I.C.S., even though this meant being cut off without funds. Another young man was in love with a girl whose marriage with someone else had been arranged. He continued to see her after her marriage and was deeply despondent and confused. His father sent him to America to start life anew. Thus, for some, going to a foreign land for an education is an escape from maladjustments and, in a way, illustrates an Indian pattern of meeting personal difficulties—that is, to let time do the major job of easing tensions rather than to force a decision by meeting the problems head on.

As foreign training has become fairly customary rather than somewhat exceptional—as it has become a social fashion in some circles, and as the opportunities to go abroad have been largely expanded—the population of students going abroad includes many more who are adapting to, rather than questioning, their immediate world. The shift in the proportion of those who are critical and anxious is linked with these changes. Those who stem from groups that engender personal dissatisfactions and a zest for change are currently the minority, whereas once they were the majority. Formerly America attracted many from among the discontented and ambitious and England attracted the traditionalists; at present there is no significant difference on this score between those who go to America and those who go to England. These social trends do not imply a lowering of the quality of the successive generations of foreign-educated but a modification in their personal orientation to life. Perhaps in this trend lies an explanation of the tendency among the older generations of foreign-trained to condemn the younger generations as lacking strength of character and the tendency of the younger generations to consider the older generations outdated.

The changes in the foreign-educated are selective in that they occur in some aspects of personality rather than in the total personality. The only cases of an all-pervading change that were uncovered were those of persons who were taken abroad as children and re-

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turned to India as adults. More typically, the ordinary individual differs only in certain respects from the person he was before.<sup>1</sup>

### *Changes in the Foreign-Educated Noted by Others*

The foreign-returned report more and deeper changes in themselves than do their relatives, friends, acquaintances, and superiors who knew them both before and after going abroad. There are at least three reasons for this discrepancy:

1. The inner changes in attitudes and values are not usually outwardly visible and are seldom fully disclosed by the foreign-returned, who ordinarily do not spend much time describing their innermost feelings. The person who appears to be much the same as he was before relieves the anxiety of kin and friends, who are generally not sufficiently curious to probe the inner life of the foreign-returned.

2. In most cases, the returned Indian is situationally adaptable to the customs of his family and community and takes on the roles expected of him by others. Lacking any cause for believing otherwise, the constellation of people around the foreign-returned conclude that he has not really changed.

3. In some instances, basic changes may not come to the surface until the foreign-educated obtains a position that permits him to act in accord with his own preferences. This may occur many years after his return. For example, a woman who had developed a definite preference for democratic teaching practices while a student in America had to wait for fifteen years, until she advanced to the headship of a school where she was in authority, to introduce democratic procedures.

<sup>1</sup>It is not possible to separate the foreign experience itself from the normal course of personal development which would have taken place irrespective of where the person was during this period. This introduces a degree of bias in favor of the foreign experience as a contributing factor, especially in the formation of character among the younger age groups who were maturing during their period abroad.

*Causes and Process of Change*

We encountered sundry theories as to the kind of person who will change as a result of a foreign education and as to the length of time during which the changes will persist upon return. There are Indians who believe that it is solely a question of choosing a person of good quality to go, and there are Westerners who believe that what matters most is an open mind, self-determination, and sound training. Cases can be found to illustrate either conviction, but for neither is there convincing proof. We conclude from the assembled data that the nature of the changes that occur within the individual and the persistence of the changes in the life of a person depend on a matrix rather than on a single element. What the individual was before—based on social origins, position in society, temperament, ability, and future plans—governs what he selects out of a foreign environment. The personal changes that occur in the foreign environment are determined both by what the individual brings into that environment and by what he is offered by the environment—the social and intellectual setting, the training provided, the responses of the people with whom he interacts. What the foreign-educated are like thereafter is affected by what they were before they went, by what they experienced overseas, and by what happens to them in the subsequent years—their social position and opportunities, their roles in the social circles in which they move, economic and political conditions within the nation.

The foreign experience serves as a catalytic force; latent tendencies within the individual are brought out in all but the most rigid and the most mature. Even those who reacted negatively to their foreign experience, who were antagonistic to the alien culture, who considered the customs of the inhabitants inferior, or who rejected what they observed as unsuitable for India return home with a changed outlook and changed habits. Many of those who assured their families and friends before they left home that they would not change as had other foreign-educated and who determinedly followed a policy of not changing abroad conceded that they, too, had changed.



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The process of living and studying in another society produces diverse effects on the individual's conception of himself and of his roles. A comparative view engenders a fresh perspective and presents a new model by which persons judge their own society. The foreigners in India are too distantly removed from the daily lives of ordinary people to serve as realistic alternative versions of life. Most Indians have no intimate contact with the foreigners, and the foreigners tend to be considered something apart rather than persons whose way of life might be copied. The foreign-returned mix more freely with foreigners than do others, but most of them knew no foreigner personally before they went overseas. Knowledge acquired indirectly from the movies, imported magazines, and casual rumors lacks the reality that the student experiences by actually being in another society. There is a genuine difference between being a spectator who sees and hears about the foreigners and actually being in a foreign society and trying on its roles.

In the absence of normal pressures to conform to Indian ways, the individual is released to experiment. Direct interaction with persons in another culture makes the student reappraise his own customs, raises questions that usually are not discussed, creates a self-awareness that stimulates new lines of thought. Being exposed in the classroom to lectures by professors with a different set of assumptions and methods evokes curiosity—or, at least, reactions. Similarly, the move back to India forces the individual to look at his society from a new point of view, and as he readjusts, he is made conscious of himself. These are rarely traumatic experiences,<sup>2</sup> but they are experiences that serve as catalytic influences.

The nature of the changes can best be envisioned as a process of

<sup>2</sup>The number and extent of mental disorders among the foreign-educated are unknown. We interviewed several psychiatrists and medical practitioners who gave us cases of disturbed personalities, and we found others on our own. Their problems are taken up in a following chapter. No cases were found in the mental institutions that we checked, but the foreign-returned belong to a status group who are not likely to send their mentally ill to public institutions. As a further check, we inquired into the prison population for cases and found none—this, of course, does not include the special category of political prisoners.

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personality reorganization rather than the simple process of adding or subtracting traits, as, for example, in acting according to Western standards and thereby being less Indian. Illustrative of this is the process of intensification of tentatively held ideas, views, and habits. The overseas experience consolidates and reinforces pre-existing modes of acting; there is a clarification of beliefs and a learning of skills that permit the person to practice what he was predisposed to do. A prominent newspaper owner says:

I fitted into American life as if I were one of them. There was something revolutionary in America and something revolutionary in me and the two fitted together like a finger in a glove. Before, democracy was just a word; there I saw it actually happen. I knew that my beliefs were really so and that they could be realized.

A government official who comes from a scheduled (“untouchable”) caste says:

It [my foreign experience] reaffirmed my belief that there was no use in having castes, communities, and races as a basis of social life. This was not a new idea to me but a fortification of my viewpoint. The foreign training did not change me; it gave me confidence in what I knew to be true.

A university professor and promising social scientist states:

My conception of truth was positivistic before and that is why I went there [England]. Before, I knew how to be scientific; there it was accentuated. The empirical temper in me emerged and the scientific viewpoint became firm in me.

A businessman who manages a family-owned firm says of his experience:

I became more of what I wanted to be—I blossomed out.

## CONTENT OF CHANGES

The following presents in the context of social life the content of the personal changes that the foreign-trained report as having occurred in themselves.

### *Self-confidence*

*Nine out of ten foreign-educated spontaneously say they gained self-confidence; they got over their "inferiority complexes," and they lost their shyness, diffidence, and sense of inadequacy.*

"Inferiority complex" as a self-descriptive phrase is widely used among the present adult generation in the middle classes and is related to five aspects of Indian life.

1. The feeling of being inferior is common to members of any subordinated society. People who are dominated incorporate within themselves the superior's attitude that they are inferior. The dominated are sapped of their self-esteem, initiative, and self-dignity; the existence of a hierarchy is a constant reminder that they are beneath another people. When the foreign rulers are of another race and culture, invidious distinctions between the "whites" and the "blacks," between the "civilized" and the "natives," creep in. This outlook is dispelled to a considerable extent among foreign-educated. They discover that the foreigners in their own country treat them more as equals than as inferiors (all of the British-educated talk about the differences between the British in India who act as superiors and the British in England who treat them as associates); they see that there are shortcomings in the foreigners' way of life and strengths in their own; and they find that when the rules are not stacked in favor of the foreigner, they can compete successfully and hold their own.

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I saw that the British were just ordinary people and I lost awe and fear of them.

I had a deep-rooted inferiority complex built on racial lines. Now white men cannot overwhelm me. There is no racial tie left in me. I can assess people from a broad angle.

I lost my inferiority complex when I mixed with people who encouraged me. I thought to myself that inferiority was just a feeling and that I could get over it, and I did.

I gained self-confidence when I found that I knew more about English literature than did the English people themselves. I began to feel second to none—including Europeans who worked in this country.

The biggest lesson I learned is that we are not so bad after all—they make mistakes too. This encouraged me to feel that they were human too. We have an inferiority here that everything is better there than here. There I found inspiration in my own culture.

Whereas before, I was upset and uneasy in the presence of an Englishman, I mixed freely there and I got to the point of not caring what they thought—I need not bow down to anyone.

These specimen quotations are taken from both pre-independence and post-independence cases. Among members of the generation reared since independence, there is greater self-confidence; the present undergraduates in Indian colleges already show evidence of being partly immune to “inferiority complexes.”

2. In India a person is reared to be dependent on his family rather than to be self-dependent. The individual alone is not supposed to make major decisions, and his social identity in the community is based on his family's standing. Self-assurance increased in the foreign-returned as they made decisions on their own and competed on the basis of their individual abilities.

I left for England as an impressionable young man with no

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fixed ideas of my own. For the first time in my life I had to find my place on my own merits. I had to stand up to men and stand on my own legs. This was the leading change in my life and it has been with me ever since.

Up to that time I would have been judged by my family status and would have gotten ahead because my brothers could maneuver to get me up. Since then I can get jobs because of my own merit—because I deserve it.

I do not have to rely on other people to do my thinking.

I learned to be pushing and forward, to take the initiative, to be independent.

The schooling there makes one more self-responsible.

I became less dependent on relatives.

It has made me self-supporting mentally. I had always depended on my family, then my husband, but now I can depend on myself. Before I left I could never decide anything for myself. I would always ask others for advice before doing anything. Now decisions are easier to make.

It is therefore not surprising to find that persons from such families were changed most extensively in the direction of greater self-dependence and, as a by-product, heightened self-confidence.

3. Many Indian educators and public leaders are critical of the advanced educational system in India and have a fairly low opinion of, and little confidence in, the training imparted by the professional and advanced technical schools in India. This lack of confidence in the training carries over into a lack of confidence in those so trained.

Under the British, the educational system was designed primarily to produce men who would assume positions as assistants to the British. As in any colonial administration, the governors reserved most of the top positions for themselves and relied on their own reservoir of technically trained men for experts. Indians were trained in the limited knowledge needed by assistants. The stress was on

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rote memorization rather than on creative inventiveness, on the maintenance of equipment rather than on its construction, on the development of an obedient rather than an independent mind.

Since independence new educational policies are being formulated to train men for technological and social leadership in keeping with the needs of an independent country. However, implementation of these policies has, of necessity, been slow. Meanwhile, many are motivated to go abroad to study in more advanced educational institutions in order to obtain what is commonly deemed to be a superior training.

I feel much more certain of myself. It made me an independent person about my own activities and judgment. Now when I talk with someone superior, I do not say, "Yes sir, yes sir," automatically. Now I say it only when necessary.

It took away my inferiority complex—being afraid of persons above me. I learned that one can respect those above them without fearing them. I am not flabbergasted by superiors as most people are. I can look at the pros and cons of a question more clearly and make judgments on the merits of the case.

My whole outlook was changed; I knew what I could do and could not do. I knew that I would be well placed when I got back and felt confident of myself—I learned that I could do my job if there were opportunities, that I can go anywhere, can get a job in any country. I have a good degree and regardless of what comes, I will be well placed in life.

One of the main things I learned is how to play the role of the man on top.

4. Indians show considerable uneasiness and shyness when they move outside the family and the community, for there are few indigenous social rules to guide personal behavior. As a child the Indian is still socialized for living within his own family and community rather than in the larger society. At home he is shy in the

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presence of outsiders, and even though he may live side by side with people of another community, he seldom is intimately acquainted with their way of life. He has little direct communication with important or influential men, and when by chance a face-to-face meeting with such a person occurs, the Indian is supposed to be deferential and submissive. With the breaking down of the traditionally tightly knit in-groups, the widening of the areas of social contact and increased social mobility, more and more individuals have been put into situations for which there are no indigenous codes of conduct. Western manners have filled the vacuum, and upward mobility has meant moving into social circles in which Western modes of behavior were expected if one were to be considered respectable.

Persons who have been reared in an urbane atmosphere, or in homes where there is continuous interaction with strangers or with prominent persons, or in homes where the self-contained world has been replaced by an open social world are not shy or unsure in social gatherings. These persons do not report any added confidence growing out of learning how to behave overseas—but they are in the minority.

For most persons, the social poise developed overseas eases their self-doubts in social relations that take place outside the family or community.

My sharp corners were rubbed off until finally my manners and way of talking fitted in.

I was unsure about English manners and customs and became very careful; this has instilled habits which are still with me; I was made smarter socially.

I acquired a new set of habits for social life—I used to be shy about talking to people I did not know. Now I am more free to meet people and I like to meet them.

Before, I was hesitant to meet people. I was nervous when I met people I had not known and had an inferiority complex about being with big people. Now I have the confidence to do

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so. I have the courage to meet, and like to meet, all kinds of people.

My manners are more polished. I developed better control over my emotions. I can keep the conversation going and have something to say.

There is one phase, however, in which there is no increment of inner security even though there may be an outward simulation of poise. This condition occurs among persons who went abroad at an early age to study and who on their return are placed in a high-ranking office of a business. Men who have not passed through the usual apprenticeship within an Indian enterprise have trouble in dealing with businessmen who have never been abroad and are not indoctrinated in the ethics of business as taught in Western schools of business administration. They are bewildered by the imperatives and permissives of business transactions.

Father [the owner of a large industrial plant] says, "You have ideas that won't work in India, your method is too quick, your mind is American but your heart is Indian"—and he is right. People in business take advantage of me and I am never sure when they are doing so or what I should do to stop them. I don't know how to bargain. I don't know whether, if I do a man a favor, he will do me a favor. I don't know when to believe a man in India, or whom to trust. One of our agents cheated me and I don't know why he did it. Should I keep him? Should I accuse him?—I am at a complete loss. I feel incompetent. Father would know what to do. I don't. I always try to keep my word. Indians make promises—any promises—whether they intend to keep them or not. I use written contracts, Indians use notes and letters and they say my contracts are ridiculous. Indians run down their competitors. I never criticize my competitors, for this is a principle of fair practice. I have instructed my staff never to say bad things about other people's stock and they think this is more American foolishness.



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Those who enter foreign-managed firms or work with entrepreneurs who follow Western business practices do not face this unsettling problem.

5. The aftermath of a century characterized by deprivations for the masses and by public policies that netted meager gains for the common man is a legacy of skepticism and frustration. Since independence, there have been expectations of a better future, modulated by the legacy of the past into a "wait and see" feeling. Those who get excited about the possibilities for great improvements often are viewed by others with a jaundiced eye. There is a feeling of uncertainty rather than defeatism.

The foreign-educated, before and since independence, bring back enthusiasm. They differ in what they are enthusiastic about, but they come back to India with fresh confidence in the future and their role in that future. Their self-image is not one of being passive spectators but of being active agents. Personal aspirations are higher and broader than they were prior to their going abroad.

Before, I was a God-fearing man who relied on fate; now I believe that everything depends on you.

My new attitude was to strive for a more perfect thing rather than to just accept what is.

I returned with self-confidence and enthusiasm; I felt that my eyes had been opened. I had a vision of the world and felt that I would make a real contribution to an important area of life.

Before I went I was pessimistic; there I saw the possibilities of social improvement.

I learned that the man in India does not even know what he is missing. I saw a new standard.

I had great ideals before I came back to build up the country. After what we had seen in America, I felt that we should do something.

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Coming from a prosperous country to a gloomy, backward place strengthened my resolve to do something for the people.

I learned that we can make life more enjoyable here. I used to think that life is a struggle—now I feel that it is meant for enjoyment.

In England I realized that it was not only the job that counted but that I must achieve something; I must command the highest respect for my intelligence.

I became more buoyant. Here, we see the difficulties and we drag along with them—we look and feel miserable. There, I learned to work hard and get results, to approach life with good humor, not agony. I try to make each day count and be worth while.

Enthusiasm and confidence proved to be interrelated in most cases, but they rarely were one and the same thing. The foreign-returned, after telling about their high hopes when they came back, often went on to tell about how they lost some of their enthusiasm. Although this dampened their spirits, the disappointments did not crush the individual's faith in himself, and few became broken in spirit even when frustrations were prolonged. None of the disillusioned attributed the failures to their own shortcomings; they blamed external obstacles. Yet, there is a latent quality in the character of even the most frustrated, who say that they have been "rotting away" for years, which can best be described as a combination of soaring and collapsing enthusiasm. Although they may feel futile or hampered about any prospect of improvement in the situation, they are ready to build new dreams—and then to discard them as bad dreams.<sup>3</sup> The casualty rate of enthusiasm could not be measured; any estimate involves the knotty questions of what comprises the "normal" amount of discontentment that runs through the middle classes today and

<sup>3</sup>It has been suggested that this quality is a feature of Indian character. We could explore only the fringes of this aspect in middle-class life, where it appeared to be fairly common.

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what is a more-than-average incidence. In some social circles we found that it was considered "unintellectual" or "childish" to appear heartily enthusiastic about the future.

The high self-confidence of the foreign-educated evokes mixed responses from Indians. If it is channelized into socially approved objectives, such as the independence movement during the years of struggle for freedom, it is applauded. On the other hand, those who carry this spirit into established enterprises are sometimes regarded with serious misgivings and labeled "green," "cocky," or "foreign-acting." The energetic, aggressive, and ambitious can be a threat to superiors who fear they may be supplanted by a man pushing himself up. Those who feel personally threatened by the foreign-trained may try to deprecate the potential competitor by taking credit for his contributions, by suppressing vital information in order to give the impression that the potential rival is not so important as the incumbent, or by discrediting him through aspersions on his foreign training and on his character, as, for example, in formal reports and anonymous letters—a fairly common practice. In a society in which opportunities are restricted and the foothold for anyone is precarious, the individual is motivated to protect every advantage he has. For the foreign-educated the preservation of self-confidence in this social setting is no small achievement in itself.

*One out of ten foreign-retuned reports no gain of self-confidence.* A brief note will help to clarify the total picture. Persons of this type fall into several roughly defined categories. One such category consists of persons who claim that they had unusually high confidence before they went overseas and that there it was reduced to a more "natural" size. In this group may be the brilliant or favored member of a middle-class family who was singled out as exceptional by his kin and who came to believe that he excelled all others. There are also some who come from groups that inculcate in their members an attitude of superiority to others around them. A second category is made up of persons who were confused either before they went abroad or after they were there and never found their niche in life.

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Finally, there is another class of mature, well-placed men who gain no extra fillip from study abroad; they are well established in life, and the period abroad was merely an excursion in connection with their work.

### *Approach to Life*

ENLARGED VISION OF SOCIAL LIFE. *Three out of every five foreign-returned report changes in some aspect of their approach to life.* In varying proportions these changes may be classified as an enlarged vision of social life, improved methods of thinking, improved methods of working, and the learning of democratic ways of acting in interpersonal relations.

*One out of three returned refers to an increased capacity to see society on a larger scale.* They offer in their discussions evidence of the breaking down of stereotypes, the weakening of ethnocentrism, the lessening of intolerance, and a general change in their preconceptions. In most cases, these changes came about less by way of formal training than by way of informal experience while overseas, and they are more the outcome of being in another environment than the result of any single event. The process of crossing cultures opens up a larger social vista of life. In consequence, the student adds not only to his perspective on the world but also to his perspective on his own society.

The foreign-educated usually start out their discussion of this subject by saying, "It [study overseas] broadened me." When asked to explain what this comment means, they follow up with statements that develop three themes. One of these is the gradual realization of the common unity of mankind that underlies all differences among men and of the fact that within any society there are variations among persons due to their individual characters and specific environments. This sociological truism is an important self-discovery to persons whose image of man was built out of provincial folklore and whose view of the world was patterned on the foreigners they saw in India.

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At a social distance another society appears to be made up of people out of the same mold rather than of people with a wide spectrum of characteristics. Some representative comments in this area are:

I found that no matter where you go, human nature is the same. Differences in people are not in their inner qualities but in their external environment and position in life.

Before, I used to think that all Westerners were different from us, and now I think that everyone is the same; that human beings are all the same and that there are all types of people in any society.

Here, we grow up narrow—by going abroad I saw the customs of other people and so I better understood my own customs.

There, I realized that the majority of qualities are not inherited but are due to environment and that much could be done to improve the character of the child.

I came to know that not only in India but everywhere there is trouble. I also came to see that we are all one human family—this is what I saw.

A second theme is recognition of the moral standards for behavior in Western societies. The members of all societies believe that their codes of conduct are more decent than those of other peoples—and Indians are no exception. Unfamiliar forms of behavior appear peculiar when viewed out of cultural context. People in a subordinate and economically less advanced society, however, go one step further. They preserve their integrity in part by calling attention to patterns in their own society that permit them to feel superior to those who have power and wealth. For India spiritualism has been the one value that could not be challenged by any Western patterns and that has the added advantage of seeming to be diametric to Western materialism. Many Indian intellectuals are skeptical of the alleged moral superiority of India in the realm of spiritualism, and some of the foreign-educated revised their beliefs in specific spheres.

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I lost my belief that we were the only moral, spiritual people in the world and that all other people were immoral. We used to think that in the West the relations between men and women were immoral because they kissed and went on dates by themselves. But I learned that the people there are just as moral as we are, only that they have different customs.

Going to another country enabled me to get behind all the ideologies and to see that every people have ideals.

The third theme is the development of sensitivity to opinions held by others. All peoples are ethnocentric; living within a single reference group seals off the individual from the opinions of outside groups. Moving between societies and relating himself to both enables a person to see more objectively that several valid sets of opinions on a subject of common interest can co-exist.

Even before I went I had already learned that I always had to be careful of what other people thought. But abroad, I learned to see the other sides to questions, that other sides need to be taken into account. I learned to understand more clearly the viewpoint of other people.

I learned that what looks small to me may be big to others.

I learned to respect the other man's point of view. Before, I was intolerant of the Muslim—now this was tempered, and I could see the Muslim in proper perspective. I look upon them with more sympathy than I used to and am interested in their problems.

I now saw things more clearly; I stopped putting all blame on the British and knew that we were at fault too.

I realized that there was something vaster, something bigger; you feel humble for knowledge and you gain respect for the opinion of others. I thought only of India before, now I think of the whole world.

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IMPROVED METHODS OF THINKING. *One out of five foreign-returned reports changes in his methods of thinking.* When the persons interviewed spoke about most topics, there was an even quality in the tone of their voices that gave us the general impression that they were relating mundane events in their life histories. But when the one in five whose methods of thinking had changed sharply talked about this eventful experience, we were impressed as much by the way he said it as by what he had to say: There was a feeling of excitement, an added resonance in the voice, occasionally even tears. These persons form no homogeneous group with respect to origin, status, or occupation. Few have reputations among their associates as "intellectuals" per se; they are known variously as hard-headed businessmen, bureaucrats, housewives, engineers, social workers, and newspapermen.

In contrast to other areas of change in approach to life, change in methods of thinking was most likely to come about in the educational context. In this category is the student who is challenged by the scientific spirit of inquiry and who masters the techniques for treating theories and facts empirically. These persons not only had ability; they had also the good fortune to work in a scientific laboratory under the guidance of a gifted researcher, or to hear closely reasoned lectures, or to participate in an advanced seminar exploring the frontiers of knowledge. The less common, though often even more profound, circumstance is the one in which the student comes into intimate contact with a great mind—men like John Dewey, Thorstein Veblen, Harold Laski, and Bertrand Russell.

One reason why the academic experience is so impressive for some is that it is the first time they have been exposed to such patterns of thinking. The West seldom exports its best brains to India as teachers; and when such persons do go, they stay so short a time that they leave only a faint imprint. At the same time there has been a steady leakage of India's gifted men out of the laboratories and classrooms into administration, statecraft, and attractive posts in Western centers of learning. An educational system based on

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seniority of service and low pay for those who serve science does not build an elite of outstanding scholars. Furthermore, the long hours of prescribed duties, insufficient funds and facilities for research, and scant acclaim for their scientific contributions make drones of potentially excellent men. There are exceptions, but they are few. The evolution of a teacher from an impartor of raw data to a creator of knowledge and of a student from a memorizer of facts to an independent thinker takes time and effort. Even in the most advanced Western societies, the ideals of education are still distant goals, but the realities are closer to the ideals than they are elsewhere.

This is what the foreign-returned say:

For the first time in my life, I was taught to think on my own. I tended to quote; my professor said, "What do *you* think?" My mind was freed of restrictions, and I really started to think for myself. I was a schoolmaster in mentality when I left, and there I developed a wider and more normal outlook. Here, we have a textbook mentality; for the first time there I got into the habit of browsing through books and reading the originals.

I had to learn how to think; this led me to read less and think more—a habit I have kept ever since. It was a very hard change to make, but with pain I made it. I had no fixed plans when I went, but there I saw what an earnest, honest search for the truth might yield and I decided to devote my life to it.

For the first time I had to think for myself. I learned how to use my brain. I began to take part in discussions and debates and to think for myself. I became more sober—I gave up making wild statements and became a doubting Thomas. The biggest gain was that I acquired the habit of thinking and methods for thinking.

Education is more than mere acquisition of information. I learned what education and the proper training of the mind really meant. It made me independent in my thinking. I was free to think for myself and I gained a respect for facts instead of vague speculation. The empirical temper in me emerged.



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I acquired an attitude of questioning everything. Prior to going, I knew how to be scientific, but there it got confirmed and accentuated. The viewpoint became firm in me. I am more critical of what I read. I feel the need to be intellectually honest. This was a great experience for me. My thinking became clearer; I became a rationalist. It makes a man self-reliant—I am able to think things out. This was the main imprint of my foreign experience.

IMPROVED METHODS OF WORKING. *Two out of five foreign-educated report changes in their methods of working.* In the offices or homes of the foreign-returned there are often photographs and replicas of paintings made in the West—a photograph of the college campus made from an airplane, a snapshot of an admired professor or friend, copies of well-known art masterpieces. These are juxtaposed to Indian-made pictures of Gandhi, Nehru, gods, and a national or international convention. In one office we found a placard prominently displayed which contained the following message in bold letters:

A man's work shall be a craft, a thing he loves, the pursuit of which fulfills him in soul and body, a thing to which he can grow, which enables him to grow and keeps pace with him till old age faces him. And then, a lover still at heart, he relinquishes his loved to younger and sturdier hands.

The placard seemed to fit the atmosphere, for this was the office of a man engrossed in his work—in this case, an agricultural engineer who is a part-time adviser to the government, a part-time university teacher, and in all of his free time a researcher. Unlike some of his colleagues in a similar position, he has gone out to work with the cultivators so that he might learn their technical problems first hand. And out of this has come his invention of an inexpensive mechanical device that any cultivator can make. In contrast to many proposals that are made to agricultural workers, this technological advancement is reputed to have been fairly widely adopted by cul-

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tivators. This single instance represents a quality we found among the two out of five whose education in the United Kingdom or the United States resulted in improved methods of working.

In these cases, the incidence of practical experience overseas is high. The persons in this group were "participant-observers" in a factory, office, or laboratory or on a farm.<sup>4</sup> The time spent in such activities ranges from the vacation weeks between academic sessions to more than a full year. A larger percentage are observers than are participants, and though both say they benefited, the participants give more tangible evidence of benefits, and their associates in India comment more favorably about their work habits than about the work habits of the observers.<sup>5</sup>

The observers may be divided into young sightseers who are interested in getting a firsthand view of enterprises and the older persons who are on leave from their regular work in India and are in the West to pick up fresh ideas. Participants may be classified in three ways: those who go only to work so that they can learn a total enterprise from the common laborer's job to the tasks of top management; those who stay on after their formal education is finished to get established in a firm that has an agency in India; and those who, during or after their schooling, work, in part for income, to attain

<sup>4</sup>A few in the sample had been students in British or American institutions that offered courses that required the class members to visit going concerns in order to study their operations; others had courses that required them to apply their theoretical knowledge to practical situations, such as designing a research project and carrying it out in the field, building equipment, conducting experiments. Some schools excuse the Indian student from this type of work, but the students who have taken this training rate it as one of their most instructive experiences in the West.

<sup>5</sup>We do not entirely discount the role of the observer, especially for those who come to the West with a trained eye and a fixed schedule of objectives in mind. In one government department, for example, the head, who is foreign-trained, had attempted to make numerous innovations. But it was not until the key men on his staff had gone abroad on U.N. fellowships as observers that he had the personnel needed to implement the proposed changes. Interviews with the staff disclosed that there was a decided difference between those who had gone and those who had not both in understanding and in willingness to carry out recommended innovations.

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a realistic understanding of a type of business that they hope to establish in India.

Analyzed into its components, practical experience results in self-discipline, improved standards of conduct in the world of work, and practical conceptions of effective administrative methods. An extra dividend is that the foreign-returned are able to claim qualification on the basis of practical experience. Other things being equal, Indian management prefers men with actual work experience to men with advanced theoretical knowledge. The paucity of rigorous practical training in Indian technical schools and the abundance of theoretically minded college graduates, plus the inability of large numbers to obtain apprentice training in Indian industries, give the foreign-trained with practical experience a real advantage.

Self-discipline is not an alien value in India; in fact, it is scaled high as a social virtue. Hindu philosophy upholds the social ideal of control over one's emotions and body. Self-discipline is considered an important characteristic for the ruling class. Members of the old aristocracy who exercised self-restraint in the use of their power and in their personal behavior were admired by the people. Whatever else may be said about the British rulers, their self-discipline drew grudging admiration. Ancestral and modern leaders about whom every child is told, such as the warrior Shivaji and Gandhi, the opponent of violence, are known as men of strong self-discipline. There is a large measure of self-discipline in the traditional phases of Indian behavior, where the forms of social life are shaped by age-old customs; for example, the deference accorded the head of the family, respect for the aged, conformity to the rigid sex mores among large sections of the population.

There is not similar application of the ideal of self-discipline in the modern economic and bureaucratic structures of India. Still, it is perceived as a need and there is some trend in this direction. Within the modern-minded middle classes, especially among administrators, there is a high value placed on such personal habits as punctuality, trustworthiness, discharge of responsibilities rather than

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passing them on to others, and prompt accomplishment of work instead of the mere appearance of work. The individual who confesses he is at fault even when it embarrasses him and does not cover up his mistakes with a contrived story is regarded as outstanding.

The foreign-returned who have had practical experience display these qualities to a greater degree than do others. They have a pride in craftsmanship, are more habituated to working continuously and systematically, make an extra effort to be neat and clean, and even state boldly, when necessary, that they do not know or were at fault. Whereas others tend either to withdraw or to be aggressive in verbal interaction, those with practical training are more balanced in their communications. In the words of one:

Most important were the changes in my talk. I became more sensitive to other persons. I used to talk much, rashly, and irrelevantly, but now I try to emulate the British. I try to make my estimate of others so that I do not seem dogmatic. I am careful in an argument, as most Indians are not likely to be.

In their approach to work the foreign-educated deem themselves to be better grounded. A scientist says:

I learned to attack problems and to feel that I could make a success of them. Inwardly, I am anxious about the quality of my work, but this was alleviated some there. My technical knowledge was improved considerably, especially in the methods of tackling a problem, of how to do it. It gave me a new idea as to how to do scientific work.

A technician says:

I learned my job thoroughly; I knew that I could do anything connected with sugar manufacturing.

A chemist:

I learned what lies behind the equipment we use in the laboratory.

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An educator:

Our training is theoretical and textbook-like. There, you see the connection between education and life as a whole. I saw that education there grows out of the soil and I wanted to work for the same here.

DEMOCRATIC WAYS OF ACTING. *In two out of five cases of foreign-returned, students on their return are predisposed to adopt a more democratic approach in interpersonal relations.* They try to reach out across the social lines formed by social stratification and community differentiation.

Prominent in the patterns of India's social fabric is an admixture of the old and new hierarchies which separate the population into people with superior and inferior status. The hierarchies criss-cross at points; thus, an individual may rate high in one structure and low in another. Nonetheless, there are strata based on castes and classes, ranks within bureaucratized institutions, divisions inside the family according to age, sex, and position of authority, and social distinctions by educational levels. There are vast social distances between the top and the bottom of the great social pyramid. As in most societies of South Asia, hierarchies are regarded as a mundane fact of social life which governs the relations between people in large sections of society.

Equally prominent is a proliferation of communities: the most comprehensive delineations are based on religion—Hindu, Muslim, Parsee, Indian-Christian, Jewish; partly linguistic and partly regional divisions make for such groupings as Maharashtrians, Gujaratis, Bengalis, and so on; the narrowest communities are formed around subcastes, such as Patels, Marathas, and Saraswat Brahmans, and around special subgroupings, such as Lingayats, Jains, Anglo-Indians, and Iranis. In some sections of society community solidarity in accentuated form, known as "communalism," causes the individual to keep outsiders at arm's length.

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The historical forces that made for so many hierarchies and communities have been checked somewhat by counterforces in modern India. Among the middle classes, secularization and acculturation have been powerful counterforces, and throughout society as a whole, economic and political changes have brought about numerous rearrangements. Those who return from abroad with democratic social attitudes align themselves with others who are animated to reduce the glaring differences and to weaken the more conspicuous social barriers, especially in the world of work. They are not so much social reformers as men with new norms of the worth of the individual. Thus, although they may be embarrassed by a demeaning inferior and annoyed by a communal zealot, at the same time, most of them conform to many of the conventions of hierarchical and community relationships. Ordinarily they do not flout the mores of arranged marriages, and, if it is clearly in the interest of their career, they are not above using community attachments to exert influence. Nevertheless, the foreign-educated exhibit a decided appreciation for the dignity of the individual, want to establish greater equality, and prefer to evaluate the individual on his merit rather than on his family connections and rank.

Appreciation for the dignity of the person is interpreted in the treatment of those of an inferior status or of other communities as persons instead of things. As social gestures, to show how they feel, some of the foreign-returned carry their personal effects to and from work and refuse to let a peon perform this menial duty; invite subordinates to sit down when they enter the office; acknowledge a salutation from a passing worker rather than look the other way. Many make a genuine effort to associate with members of other communities or to have at least one outsider high on their staff as a denial of provincialism. A few have served as intermediaries for their illiterate workers with public officials, and others offer financial aid to their inferiors in emergencies and go out of their way to be helpful.

I learned to be more tolerant, more sympathetic to those be-

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low me. Before, I looked down on the common people. I began to take an interest in their problems and potentialities.

I saw a new standard and this made a deep impression. I have a soft spot for Indian workers. I try to treat my workers as human beings. If people have difficulties, I encourage them to talk them over with me and I try to help them out.

R. K. Narayan's novel, *Bachelor of Arts*, contains an insightful passage in a conversation between two friends:

"Are they pleased with your work in the Head Office?"

"They must be. For six month I have shown a monthly average of over fifty new subscriptions; but they have not written anything, which is a good sign. I don't expect anything better. If work is unsatisfactory our bosses will bark at us; if it is satisfactory, they won't say so, but merely keep quiet."

"You are right. In government service, too, it is the same; the best that we can expect from those above us is a very passive appreciation."

The foreign-trained who emulate the efforts of Westerners to build worker morale actively seek out the workers' who are doing well to let them know that their work is appreciated.

Now I try to put myself in the worker's shoes many times and I am less of a disciplinarian. I like to spur workers on to take their own initiative and responsibility rather than to supervise them closely. I try to have them feel more proud and more active—I am generous with praise. I always try to visualize the treatment I got there as a worker and to apply that here.

I treat my assistants in research as associates—something I learned there. I call in my workers and talk frankly with them, tell them they have done a good job when they do something well—something that is not often done here.

Those foreign-returned who become imbued with democratic principles tend to mute their self-praise. When they are in high-

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ranking positions, they do not hold themselves inherently superior in all respects, although they seldom become entirely self-effacing.

I acquired modesty there. I was especially impressed by this in the English. I noticed that the big men were modest; they do not tell everyone who they are but leave it to others to say who they are. They treat inferiors with respect, which in turn adds to their own self-respect. I try to act this way too. I did not so act before, for here we talk about ourselves and run others down.

Attitudes toward lower-ranking persons become more permissive and less demanding.

I already believed in democracy. There in America you actually saw the good effects of democracy. I never realized before that I was thrusting my views on those below me. Now I try to give them more freedom. I trust the words and actions of those under my care. I realized that it was best not to give advice unless others asked for it and that after eighteen years of age children can be given freedom to think and act for themselves. I don't like to act authoritarian.

Some try to implement their new preference for greater equality by assuming a more conciliatory outlook toward labor unions, by providing training on the job for the unskilled, and by encouraging able men to strive for higher positions. In their homes they like to have the wife feel that she is an equal rather than an inferior. In their society, they are opposed to privileged groups:

I was impressed there [abroad] with how everyone is treated the same under national laws and I thought, that is what is needed in India.

There I found out that people who come to know you don't care who you are or what you are—it doesn't matter whether you are dark or white. From this I concluded that if we are to develop a society in India, we would have to do the same; we would have to wipe out castes and other divisions. This is what I saw.



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If a desire to evaluate each individual according to his merits rather than his relatives is expressed by the foreign-returned, he usually qualifies the statement by adding that he, as a person, can but imperfectly apply this principle in actual decisions. His private predilections cannot always prevail, nor can he ride roughshod over the existing social patterns. It is far easier to follow the practice of judging the individual by who he is rather than by what he can do and thus avoid embarrassing his sponsors or offending an important group. Faced with a choice, those hostile to "government by in-laws" look for a convenient way out and devise ways of circumventing the system of influence. Some make it a policy to tell their relatives in advance that they will support only those kin with demonstrated ability.

The practice of writing a vacuous letter of recommendation for anyone who asks for one (as is often done in the United States) and then confidentially tipping off the recipient not to take it seriously is not uncommon. In instances where a person does not want to refuse the request of an influential person, he will say that he will do everything he can to help so as not to humiliate the other by refusing the requested recommendation. Thereafter, he does nothing and so salves his conscience. In other instances an applicant with influential connections may be hired but be assigned to a position with only nominal duties while a candidate with the needed qualifications is hired to do the work under another title.

Many foreign-trained waver back and forth in response to the amount of pressure exerted on them in each situation. To be sure, for some it is in line with self-interest to emphasize the fact that they judge by merit alone. They themselves may not have good connections; their main social capital is their "merit" qualifications—*i.e.*, their prized degrees and technical skills.

But there are some who have good connections and are still antagonistic to the whole system of influence. For these the desire to succeed by merit is not easily fulfilled, as can be seen in the following case.

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A nephew of a leading figure in India left his first job, even though he liked the work and had a promising future in the company, because everyone referred to him as the nephew of so-and-so and implied that he had obtained his job only through influence. Later he applied for another job. On the day of the interview for the job, he declined to travel in his uncle's car to the office for fear that he might be observed on arrival. In the interview, the salary was settled upon. Just before he left the room, he was asked to write down his local address in case the office wanted to get in touch with him prior to his leaving town for the place where he was to work. As the man was leaving, the official recognized the address as that of the man's uncle and called the man back. The official said there had been a slight mistake and that the salary really should have been one third more than that agreed upon. Their glances met, and, although neither said anything more, both understood what had happened. The man went on to his new job where he conscientiously avoids any reference to his uncle. The people around the district know who he is and respect him for his wishes to stand on his own merits—but they also remember that he is related to a "big man."

The brother-in-law, brother, niece, and daughter of other high-ranking personages have similar stories to tell—in business, government, and educational institutions. The kin of one of the outstanding men in India feels that his whole career has been adversely affected by his sincere efforts to be judged apart from his relatives by marriage. He is never quite sure whether people are being friendly because of his own qualities or because they are ingratiating themselves in order later to ask for a favor.

Others are more expedient and use their kin connections for all they are worth, saying that it may be nice to act otherwise but that it is not realistic. Others are inconsistent, vacillating between the two approaches according to the situation.

Although the caste and community divisions are crumbling in some areas, there has been greater use of influence since the departure of the British. Some informants interpret this trend as sim-

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ply a more open application of influence; others feel that those in positions formerly held by the British cannot resist the pressures as could the foreign rulers. There are officials who try to resist the trend, but they confess in confidence that they are in the minority. The foreign-returned may not be able to control the direction of change, but some of our sample cases believe that in their own little world they can strive to introduce a more democratic approach to life by judging men on their merit.

### *The Self and the Nation*

DISCOVERY OF INDIA WHILE IN THE WEST. *Almost half of the students discovered India while in the West and, in the process, discovered a part of themselves.* That is to say, while overseas, these students identified themselves with values that changed or intensified their orientation to India.

Nationalism and pride in indigenous values have been increasing among the rest of the people. The ethos of India is being transformed; nationalism is its symbol, and the moving spirit, who personified its values, is the charismatic figure Gandhi. As in any society in transition, there are schisms over political faiths and internal power conflicts; alignments are protean and ideal plans are popular conversational pieces. The college students of India earlier were activated by political and intellectual elites to participate in the nationalist movement and to help lead India into a cultural renaissance.<sup>6</sup>

Most of the Indian students were ignorant of much of their nation's history, culture, and art before going overseas. Before independence, the picture of India that was presented in the local schools was not such as to arouse pride in the country and its traditions. The

<sup>6</sup>In Bombay State, Maharashtra has for many years been a testing ground for Indian-directed experiments in social and educational reforms—the work of the gifted Tilak, Gokhale, Karve, and others. Gujarat has been the base of political operations for Gandhi, Patel, and their immediate supporters among the business classes.

image of India drawn by British and British-trained hands portrayed the early contests for freedom as "mutinies"; the syllabi prescribed for academic courses had scant reference to the works of Indian writers; the historical events that were emphasized were those in which the British played leading roles. The classroom was not an open forum in which to discuss pros and cons of Indian thought and action. The picture of India presented in the schools since independence is changing, but there has yet to appear a clear portrait of modern India.

Although religious pilgrimages are an ancient way of travel, and visits to relatives are common, there has been no custom of holiday travel for the purpose of sightseeing. There is a scarcity of facilities for such travel and most individuals simply cannot afford the costs of extensive visits to various parts of India. For these reasons, very few students had even seen much of India. Many of them had only vague notions about the various subcultures of the country and little idea of its economic conditions.

The upshot of this has been that most students arrive in the Western world with little concrete knowledge about India. Many are made curious about their own land and begin to read seriously for the first time, and many more start to think about their nation's future—its culture and policies. Like Westerners who begin to appreciate the virtues of their own homeland when they visit the Far East, many Indian students abroad gained an appreciation of the fundamental values of India, as mirrored in the words of one:

There I acquired more respect for Indian life. I was interested in myself and not interested in India as a whole before I went. You learn to love your country when you go out.<sup>7</sup>

Individuals were stimulated to examine their culture and to study its history as a way of understanding themselves.

<sup>7</sup>In our cases there is a selective factor inasmuch as we did not have as part of our sample expatriates who never went back to India or who, if they went back, later migrated out of the country.

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I did not know anything about India before. There [abroad] I got interested in knowing more about Indian culture, I began to think that we have to take into account our own traditions. Before this I had not wanted to know about India and had not even thought about it. I developed a feeling that Indian culture would offer me what I wanted and on my return I started to learn Sanscrit.

I acquired more respect for Indian life—you learn to love your country when you are away from it. I searched back for the first time into Indian history and I found inspiration in my own culture. This was a strong emotional experience. I was anxious to return to India rather than to escape.

I did rediscover the value of our culture and what is hidden there. We have strong ancient values—I reverted to reading about India and saw that we did not discriminate in what we took over from the foreigners—we altered our ways on the basis of the rulers and the ruled, taking the ways of the rulers and taking the view of the rulers toward our culture. There I thought much about this and concluded that we should look more into our own traditions for what we want in life, for much of what we copy from the foreigners is already in our own culture.

For the first time in their lives, many individuals began to ask searching questions about the problems and future of India:

It was a revolution in my outlook. I began to think, why is India like this and other countries are different; also, where does the individual stand in relationship to his country. I had not thought about it before I went to America.

I had a new thought—our people are not living as they should. I was not aware of the impact of poverty on India before. I can now understand what it is to be poor in India in comparison with other countries.

Before going abroad I had been nationalistic in the sense that I was oriented to independence, but not further. When I

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saw America and other countries, I saw the problems which would face India *after* her independence. I began to think about the problems of production and distribution.

For the first time I saw the contradictions in Indian life—they upset me. The most important idea I got was that reorganization in society must necessarily go side by side with reorganization in education.

In general, patriotism is heightened overseas, although the degree varies according to individuals and historical period (before or after independence). The foreign-educated recount a multiplicity of experiences that made them feel patriotic. The pre-independence students had been alerted by domestic affairs before they went overseas. Some were uncertain as to their status in England.

We felt there that the people thought, "They are our subjects and we are their rulers," which made us self-conscious whether they said anything or not.

Most of those who went entered into Indian student groups in which patriotic sentiments were shared; thus, the newcomer took over the attitudes of those around him. Then, too, relationships with overseas students from other countries provoked national sensitivity.

We were never treated as outsiders in the university life but as equals. Yet we were conscious of our position. Other foreign students would say, "Our country has done"—this and that, and we could say nothing that our country had done.

The post-independence student no longer has cause to feel this way, but there are other zones of sensitivity. The nationalism and ethnocentrism that are encountered put these students in a defensive mood. They are annoyed by people whose versions of India emanate from Kipling and Katherine Mayo: Do you hunt tigers? How can you manage traffic in Bombay with all those elephants? Isn't it true that all wives are burned to death when their husbands

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die? Is Nehru a Communist? Those who in India were either critical or apathetic about social customs and the actions of their government become defenders of them in the presence of an outgroup.

The vast majority of the defenders abroad report that on their return to India they drifted back to their usual practices of indifference or criticism in the presence of the ingroup. The interchange of reference groups alters the position they take on the subjects under discussion. A factor that plays no small part and has an enduring effect is the striking contrast that the student observes between conditions in India and conditions in the West. As a distinguished poet said:

It was England that made me a patriot. The utter contrast between conditions here and conditions there—this weighed heavily on me. I developed a passion for freedom and justice. This was a new element in my writings—and I have never been the same man again.

Each returned person has a favorite story. One, for example, tells of a boat trip he took during a holiday. At the rail he stood beside an old man and his grandchild. The small child asked, "Who is that man?" and the grandfather replied, "He comes from the land of Gandhi." The Indian was deeply moved and has never forgotten that incident; to him it meant that common people everywhere knew of Gandhi's dedication to India's struggle for independence and that a cause which could so stir the minds of men and arouse their respect must be his cause.

Finally, being foreign-educated in itself carried implications to many:

I was never much of a nationalist before; I became more of one there. I, along with others, decided that it was up to the educated people to do more for India—it gave us a sense of self-respect.

CHANGES IN POLITICAL VALUES. *Changes in ideological-political orientation occurred overseas in 37 percent of the sample cases.*

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There is a close correlation between interest in public policies before leaving India and the tendency to change one's orientation during the stay in a foreign country. Only one fifth of those who were indifferent before they left India acquired enough interest in policy issues to develop a point of view, whereas three fourths of those who had taken an active interest before modified their points of view.<sup>8</sup>

In most cases, the shifts were changes from extreme points of view into the broad political center. Within the Indian frame of reference this means a belief in nationalism tinged with socialism—that is, a belief that India's future lies in independence (before 1947 this meant freedom from foreign rule; since the onset of the cold war, neutralism in the world struggle between the great power blocs) coupled with a domestic policy along socialist lines (government leadership in the development of the national economy and control over the basic industries). A fourth of the sample veered to the far left; none turned to the far right; and one out of nine ceased having any interest at all in the subject.

To trace the course of these changes calls for a brief review of experiences in the foreign country. An instructive contrast can be made between the students' responses to politics and to religion. Most students had curiosity about these two aspects of Western society, but, although everyone saw the interlocking of economics with politics, none perceived any connection between the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism or, for that matter, any relationship between religious and economic faiths. In India religion is family-

<sup>8</sup>In our sample there is a selective factor in that persons with certain types of political interests do not go abroad for study. The British administration, as previously noted, ordinarily did not allow persons known to be active in the nationalist movement to go abroad in the years before independence, and many of the ardent nationalists preferred to work with the movement in India rather than go abroad. Some communalist groups, such as the Mahasabha, are anti-Western, which causes their members to turn inward to indigenous values, rather than outward to foreign ways, for inspiration. The heads of the Communist movement in Bombay say that they do not encourage the younger people to go to England or America. The American administration in recent years has not permitted persons known to have Communist views to enter the United States.



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centered, more a pattern of ritual than a social policy, and is not thought of as having a direct bearing on economic conditions. Politics, on the other hand, is public-centered, the arena of policy decisions, and is regarded widely as being the nub of economic problems.<sup>9</sup>

Outside the metropolitan centers in England and America, most of the Indian students attend some church services and many social gatherings sponsored by church groups. At church socials they gain a welcome entree into social life; they are entertained, make friends, and have the ego-gratifying experience of giving, for the first time in their lives, speeches to an attentive audience. These activities are of interest to them as recreation and as a way of seeing the foreigners' religious life. But, with few exceptions, they remain unaffected in their religious beliefs.

In the metropolitan communities and on the campuses the students gravitate to study groups engaged in the discussion of ideologies and political issues. These, too, offer a social entree and entertainment, but they also give the politically aware student a chance to participate in the search for a philosophy of politics and to test the validity of theories. These study groups have far more impact on their political faiths than anything experienced in the church or even in the classroom. Most of the students absorbed the intellectual spirit of liberalism in the years when freedom was *the* issue.

In England, members of the Fabian movement, the labor movement, and Marxian circles have been the most sympathetic to the intellectual dilemmas of the overseas students. These groups have had multiple appeals for the Indian student: they have been anti-

<sup>9</sup>Before the partition of India the Hindu-Muslim conflict was subordinate to the common interest in an independent India in the minds of the foreign-educated students. Most Hindus and Muslims who went abroad were not disposed toward communalism, and those few in the sample who were surveyed had become disaffected. The Christian missions in India in some instances identify Christianity in the West with high standards of living, but their work is primarily with the lower classes and the casteless. Thus they seldom are in touch with the groups from which foreign students stem—and when they are, it is not in an evangelizing relationship but in a purely social one. Except for the few students sent abroad by the Christian missions, the missions have little impact on the minds of the foreign-educated students.

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colonial and concerned with the welfare of the working classes (whose problems the Indians equated with the problems of their own masses), and they have had members who were sophisticated theoretically (a quality especially admired by the young intelligentsia). The British people in general tend to be reserved with strangers, but those in the left-wing and liberal circles have welcomed and even recruited foreign students into their midst.

The American scene differs from that of England. Indian students have greater access to social circles in the United States than in Britain, but they find fewer politically and intellectually oriented study groups. Before Indian independence most Americans expressed sympathy with the Indian students' political aspirations for freedom, but the only intellectuals students could meet for discussion in many places were the liberal-minded. The depression years in America infused the college campuses with anxiety and brought into being numerous groups whose members were looking for answers—answers that were most often couched in New Deal terms. Marxian study centers were encountered in some communities as well, but they had stiff competition from liberal groups.

Since World War II, communication between the Americans and the Indian students has not been so open as before. The recent foreign-returned say that while conversation is casual on the social side, discussions on the political side are tension-laden. They add that Americans want to know whether India is Communist and why India favors the Communist bloc and that they do not listen with an open mind to answers that do not fit their preconceptions. Americans seem to know about instances in which the Indian government was critical of the free world but not about instances in which the government criticized the Communist world and opposed Communism within India. In this recent period the Indian students have found few serious discussion groups within the broad framework of liberalism and none that is conservative, and they feel isolated or bored. This is especially frustrating, inasmuch as Indian students tend to be much more politically conscious than the average American stu-

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dent. The foreign-educated report that American students are not well informed about the actions of the big powers—even of their own government—on issues that affect the East and colonial areas, nor are they even interested in discussing the ins and outs of points under consideration.

The reactions of the foreign students to the politically conscious circles in which some moved in Britain and the United States vary widely. Those who joined liberal circles often gained reinforcement of their prior beliefs and rounded them out by reading in detail the great classics. Many say that for the first time they went beyond glib generalities to come to grips with the concreteness of methods for achieving aims. A few who found the liberals dull and were excited by more radical ideas transferred to a circle more in keeping with their predilections. Within the Marxian centers, there were divided reactions: the reconciliation of "Gandhism" with Communist doctrines proved to be the critical point. Free-thinking minds among the Indians were sometimes repelled by the materialism in Marxism and were jarred by the unquestioning conformism to a body of dogma:

I was nationalistic and socialistic before. I was well informed—I had read Lenin on colonialism, and some of Marx. The only politics a man could have in a slave country was nationalism. There I became a more confirmed nationalist. I became critical of the readiness of the Marxist groups to believe without thinking or examining the facts.

The discrepancy between the alleged and the observed impelled some to revamp their views.

Before, I was a Communist—I did not belong to the party but believed in it and read up on it. When I got to the States I saw what the Communists claimed to be true could not be so. This was the turning point and I gave up Communism.

The news from elsewhere also had an effect: the purges in Soviet Russia, the Stalinist emphasis on bureaucracy, the centralization of power and autocratic rule, the use of science as a weapon instead of

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a tool, and the tactics of the Communist leaders in India. Two examples of this last occurred in 1929, when the Communist leadership in India became antinationalist and declared the Congress Party to be a capitalist-front organization, and, again, after Russia entered World War II, when the Communist leaders offered to collaborate with the British in India. The effects were twofold: first, many of the Marxist-oriented reverted to a Gandhi type of nationalism with a socialist tinge; and, second, others were impelled to continue to accept Marxism but to reject Communism. Out of this ideological ferment have come some of the most prominent leaders of India.

### *Those Who Did Not Change*

The reader will recall that almost half of the students changed in their conception of India as a nation and of themselves in relation to it. *Who were the other half who did not change in this sphere?* From inspection of the cases there appear to be four loose, roughly equal clusters that form around different modes.

One cluster is made up of Indian students closely identified with Western values before they went abroad. A foreign education might be a welcome, though temporary, escape from Indian life, or, like the pilgrim's once-in-a-lifetime trip to the Holy Land, it might be the great chance to be in the civilization they cherished. They gained a renewed "consciousness of kind" and fulfilled a dream by visiting Westminster Abbey, Stratford-on-Avon, New York City, or T.V.A.

For a second group it is less a cultural mission than a cultural holiday during which they can have a good time without anyone's criticizing them for enjoying themselves. Their interests vary—including tours around the country and to Europe, sports, dates with local girls, and experiments with local customs.

The third cluster is an assortment of people who are so disturbed by personal problems that they are too overwhelmed to pay attention to anything else. There are cases whose histories cover transfers from school to school in search of a place that would offer them something

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they were sufficiently interested in or could do sufficiently well to get a degree. Others drift about in the hope of finding an environment that will spark their interest and so give their lives some direction. Some frankly say that they were escaping from a nagging spouse, an arranged marriage they did not want to go through with, a parent they could not get along with. A few fall in love with a foreigner and spend all of their time trying to figure out what to do about it.

A fourth cluster centers around an exclusive interest in learning a profession, qualifying for a degree, or mastering the means for doing a particular technical skill. They are preoccupied with the tasks at hand—the preparation of academic assignments, doing research in a laboratory, learning production techniques—and have no time to speculate about ideologies. They are not less or more identified with India, although they may change in other respects.

### *DIFFERENCES BETWEEN BRITISH-TRAINED AND AMERICAN-TRAINED*

In fundamentals, the same kinds of change in character and outlook occur among the foreign-returned from the United Kingdom and from the United States. Similarities exceed differences in each of the areas of personal change. The British-trained and American-trained share in common the experience of having been out of their own country, which in itself has an effect on their outlook; they are alike in certain respects as a result of having been exposed to Western culture, a modern economy, an independent nation, and a democratic society. Yet, no one in India would often mistake a British-trained person for an American-trained, and none of the foreign-trained would feel flattered by the mistaken identity.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup>There are a small number who split their education between the two countries; they comprise a special social hybrid.

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We are conscious of the dangers inherent in the oversimplification of social character and call attention to the fact that we are pointing out here dissimilarities in the modes of the two subsample populations. Both subsamples show a range, and there is some overlapping.

### *Stability versus Adaptability*

The most apparent modal difference between the British-educated and the American-educated is that the former tend to accent stability and the latter, adaptability. Accent on stability, as a set of social traits in the British-educated, refers to the belief in the existence of impersonal standards of behavior that are appropriate for social life and are detached from the private wishes of any person. There are proper ways of acting in defined situations irrespective of personal inclinations; it is up to the person to discipline himself to act correctly, and though a person is free to choose his conduct, he is accountable to himself for being decent.

The external values and rules have a universal validity of their own, quite apart from anyone's notions, and each one must learn how to adjust to them as best he can. Human relations require compromises in order that people may get on with one another without constant bickering and the main work may proceed in an orderly, systematic fashion. Normal social interaction, however, should be sufficiently stable to provide a predictable routine. An individual is free to take a stand on issues; he is expected to be outspoken and not to mask his opinions in polite phrases. Thus, a man may be frank in stating his opinions, but a responsible man is discriminating and avoids the appearance of being overly aggressive or verbose. These sentiments are partly expressed in the words of one English-returned:

I became more objective and I am less sensitive to what goes on around me. My training increased the general standards I set in character and behavior. I developed a disgust for all sorts

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of underhand dealings and I grew to respect ideas; before, I played the angles, since then I tell the truth. I was unsure about British customs and became very careful; this has instilled habits which are still with me—being methodical, doing business in a businesslike way. I learned to respect the other man's point of view and I know that you can't have the whole of everything—that changes can come only by a series of compromises. The British know how to discipline themselves in dealing with each other; we are a crowd-forming nation, there they form into queues. These were already vaguely in me before I went, but they were brought out and made clear to me in England.

The accent on adaptability of the American-returned has reference to a pragmatic view of the world. The acid test is: Will it work? Social structures are made and unmade to meet the needs of people, and any structure that is not satisfactory ought to be changed to fit the current needs. The standards are set by the social group, which decides how well the individual behaves. A person is supposed to be tactful in what he says in order not to antagonize others, and a good man is one who is able to get along smoothly with others. Fair compromises are necessary in order to be "reasonable" and are good for group morale. Where the British-returned think it is unfortunate when they are not liked, the American-returned are eager to be liked. The former would ask, "What is the trouble with the other fellow?"—and would be sorry for him; the latter could ask, "What is wrong with what I did and how can I better handle such a person?" Human relations are acknowledged to be important, but the main thing is to get them well organized so that practical results are obtained. Again, a quotation from a case at the mode in part illustrates these traits.

I learned in America how to get along with people, how it felt to be liked. Before, I was cocky. I had to be taught. Now I realize that I have to be acceptable to people, that you cannot antagonize, and that you have to use technique. I have a gift

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for getting along with people. I can turn on and off my different personalities like a tap. I meet other people more than half-way. I learned to mix and know people. I saw what a man can do when given the chance.

### *Contrasts in Self-confidence*

British-returned and American-returned are equally self-confident, but why they differ. The Indians in the United Kingdom bolstered their egos by meeting their foreign rulers in the foreigners' homeland and often excelling them in the fair competition of academic life. The feeling of being racially inferior to whites lessened, and the unconscious acceptance of the British as a superior stock disappeared. A student who watched with amazement as British workers carried his (a colored man's) bags off the ship was having the first of a series of experiences in which he observed that persons can be treated with equality regardless of race. This ego building is more typical of the pre-independence than of the post-independence cases. Yet, among those in the recent generation who went to Britain, there still is a carry-over of earlier racial myths which are exploded in social contacts. Some of the English in India continue to treat the Indians as inferiors, and Indians are often deferential in their presence, though both may publicly deny this to be true.

The Indians in America strengthened their egos in a different way. Since the Americans were not the rulers, the Indians felt less intensively an inner drive to best them in order to prove themselves the equals of the Americans. In self-appraisal, the American-returned feel confident of their ability to mix with all types of people and of their mastery of the knowledge possessed by the most technologically advanced nation in the world. Because the English-trained are more confident about what they know, and the American-trained about what they will do, the American-trained suffer more in the aftermath of disillusionments.



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### *Contrasts in Approach to Life*

Although the same proportion of British-educated and American-educated changed in their approach to life, disproportions are evident on several scores within this area. The English-trained are slightly more cautious about taking risks, whereas the American-trained are more optimistic about taking chances in the hope of getting lucky breaks. Of those who have technical skills, a slightly larger percentage of the American-returned start their own private enterprises or at least make plans to do so upon their return.<sup>11</sup>

Informality in interpersonal relations between boss and worker and between teacher and student predominates more among the American-returned. The head of a government department said:

I like the idea of working as part of a team—there is no manager here. We sit together and talk together.

The operations manager of a dairy company states:

My shift at the plant is known as being the American style in contrast to the day shift which is known as the English style. My supervisors are very informal in their relations with me and yet when I tell them to do something, they do it.

An English-returned university teacher commented on changes in his role:

Before, I felt that pupils should be in close touch with teachers. Now I feel that contacts should be confined to the intellectual world.

<sup>11</sup>A selective factor occurs in this area. Before independence it was not easy for the American-trained to obtain positions in government services and British firms—there were almost no American firms. Hence they had to try on their own. However, despite greater outlets in government and business in the post-independence period, the American-trained still display a greater preference for their own businesses, if they have the technical knowledge and capital, than do the English-trained with comparable opportunities.

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An American-returned man in another school:

I teach much differently than I would have otherwise. As teachers do in America, I try to have contacts with the students. Once a month I take them out to a cottage for a party and free-for-all discussion. I am freer with the students, take an interest in their social life, and talk with them outside of class.

Those from England are more likely to speak of paying respect to a man in keeping with his social station in life, whereas those from America are more likely to speak about the advantages of an open-class system and free mobility which provide opportunities for men to rise.

There are more American-educated than English-educated who refer specifically to the good effects of doing their own work, but both refer to the dignity of labor. Members of neither the British nor the American group had done much common labor in India before they went overseas.<sup>12</sup> The members of the upper-middle class do not ordinarily do any work within their homes, relying instead on servants. The rest of the middle class cannot earn enough as unskilled workers to sustain themselves and also go to college. Moreover, it is not in the Indian tradition for college students to earn while learning. Abroad, the pre-independence student in America worked at common labor more than did the student in England in that period. The discrepancy in work histories overseas has narrowed, but it continues to be present.

Students who have done manual labor differ from the rest in their views toward the lower classes: they are empathetic rather than sympathetic, for they mingled with the workers in the United States or the United Kingdom and know their problems intimately. Home

<sup>12</sup>The exceptions to this generalization comprise a small number who originated in the lower classes of the city, or were reared in a cultivator's family, or came from impoverished middle-class families (especially refugees from Pakistan) and so had to do manual work in order to attend school. One man was a peon and newspaper boy, several worked as low-paid clerks and a few said they did any kind of odd job to maintain themselves.

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again in India they are more likely to do their own menial tasks and to enjoy working with their hands. For example, in a factory that we visited, an American-trained engineer who was working alongside an Indian-trained engineer decided they needed tools from the stockroom. Together they went to the room where the American-trained picked up his part and carried it back; the Indian-trained called for an assistant to carry his part.

This is what a Brahman middle-class woman who had worked in America says:

Here, you hear much talk about a person not being able to do something because it is beneath his dignity—can't do this, can't do that. My father is much that way. I was, too, before I left, but I learned differently in America. I saw people of very high rank who worked hard and with their hands. I learned the real meaning of work and now I believe in hard work. Now I will do things that I would not have done before.

### *Contrasts in Work Experience*

The type of work experience overseas also has a special effect. Persons who had their professional or technical work experience in the most advanced laboratories and shops learned to work in a specialized field and to depend on the best equipment. They may have worked abroad in an organization that has a fine division of labor wherein each man is required to concentrate on a single activity; a pool of experts is available to anyone who needs help on some operation; the incidental costs of supplies can be taken care of readily; experiments that are not successful are written off without fuss; and there is a continuous replacement of the obsolescent with the latest facilities. The American-trained were more often in this environment than were the English-trained and so have greater difficulty readapting to Indian work conditions. Dazzled and misled by unaccustomed American resources, they are likely to feel poorly sup-

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ported in their work with Indian resources. Nehru summed it up in a public address as follows:<sup>13</sup>

I have found often enough that Indians who come back after a full course of foreign training are very competent; they can do much, but they always ask for complicated machines to do their work. They seem to be a little helpless without their pet machines with them. . . . It is obvious that a particular kind of work cannot be done without a particular machine, whatever it may be. But there is a big range of work which can be done—perhaps not quite so efficiently, but nevertheless to a degree of efficiency—with a far simpler machine than the latest type. If you get accustomed to conditions in America, its machines and technological conditions, and if you find that there is not the same base here in India, you are disgruntled and dissatisfied, shouting for something which you have not got. It is not a good thing to do so.

### *Other Differences*

The discovery of India abroad differs in its meaning for the returnees from the two countries. The British-returned more frequently see the connection between politics and the general welfare, and the American-returned, between economic conditions and the general welfare. The Indian from an American school may criticize American students for being apolitical or ideologically ill-informed, but he takes over their outlook on the source of adverse conditions. Indians from English schools do not neglect the socioeconomic conditions, but they assign to them less responsibility for the nation's problems.

Both sample groups have heightened aspirations for themselves, but the American-educated are more exuberant. This is especially true of those returning from the United States since World War II.

<sup>13</sup>Reported in the *Indian Express*, Oct. 10, 1952.

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In England the raw graduate starts at a lower salary than in America, and there is not the same amount of competitive vying by prospective employers for graduates of technical institutions. The American-returned, as a result, have more inflated notions of their own worth and expect a higher income level on their first job.

The social chasm between India and the West is bridged more easily by the British-educated than by the American-educated. England and India have been linked together by a network of structures that provide the individual with a smoother passage out and back. Indian schools are modeled after those of Britain; the customs which the middle class have taken over from the West are largely British; British ways are well known in India, but American ways are not. In a sense, the British help the Indians to remain Indians. In the past, they helped directly by not letting the Indians be anything else when they wanted to change and indirectly by not trying to change the Indian character into that of imitation Englishmen. Of course, many of the early English-trained did adopt English ways, and there were the social rewards of being distinctive. Today there is less prestige in acting like an Englishman, and English surface habits are being abandoned.

The American-educated are a more mixed lot. Perhaps it would not be unfair to suggest that Americans earnestly believe that the American way is worth while for everyone, and certainly Americans hope that what is learned about their way of life will be applied by foreign students upon their return home. American-returned students have some of that vision in terms of the progress of their country. They also bring back surface habits that are still novel and that—to put it mildly—evoke mingled reactions.

### *Differences That Are Not Significant*

We did not uncover any solid evidence for concluding that there were significant differences between the sexes, or classes, or communities with respect to changes in character and in outlook. Males

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and females have similar central tendencies and ranges in each area of change surveyed, and the same holds true for social classes and communities. A cross check with the independent observations made by associates of the foreign-returned shows the two sets of facts to be consistent on this point.

It does not follow that these categories are of no relevance. As we have noted already, in each category there are differences in the rates of going abroad, and, as we shall note later, there are differences in the adjustment after returning. If the persons in each category do not differ in kind according to what they got out of the foreign experience, they do differ emphatically in what they do upon their return to India.

Paradoxically, few were motivated to go overseas to change their character and outlook; yet, in retrospect, most list this as the most concrete gain derived from their foreign training. More get changed in character than get ahead occupationally, but because gains in the latter are rated higher than changes in the former, the foreign-returned are inclined to judge the value of an education abroad primarily on the basis of its advantages in the labor market. When they give advice to persons who are thinking of going abroad, they usually emphasize improvement of one's chances and not improvement of one's character as the uppermost reason for going.

# 3

## The Use of Foreign Training in India

IN THIS CHAPTER we shall discuss the ways in which the foreign-educated use their knowledge and skills after they return to India. Our discussion centers on the world of work and is organized around three general themes: patterns of employment, adaptation to working conditions, and the place of the foreign-trained in an underdeveloped country.<sup>1</sup> We have concentrated on the world of work because foreign-educated both judge and are judged by their degree of success in this area of life; because in this sphere a foreign training is supposed to be applied and to produce visible results; and because here the foreign-educated are expected to play an outstanding role in the transfer of Western ideas, methods, and technology.

A cluster of variables—located in organizational arrangements, social customs, and population pressures, in the cultural heritage of a people who have been under foreign rule, in the economy of a country with mass poverty, in the values of the middle classes, and in the dislocations that occur in a nation that is in the midst of transition—have importance for understanding the personal adjustments of the foreign-educated. These variables are not exclusive with

<sup>1</sup>The reader is reminded that our field study was made only in Bombay State and that each state has its own distinctive features.

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India, nor are they universal even within Bombay State; yet they assume specific forms in this setting, and they became clearly visible to us as we observed their impingement on the individual in the world of work.

### PATTERNS OF EMPLOYMENT

In this section we shall explore (1) the distribution of the gainfully employed, (2) occupational histories, (3) levels of income, (4) employment opportunities, and (5) the allocation of jobs.

#### *Distribution of Those Gainfully Employed*

A partial count of the gainfully employed in selected segments of Bombay State reveals that *about 13 percent of the administrative ranks in government, 11 percent of the academic positions in colleges and universities, and 4 percent of the managerial posts in Indian-owned private enterprises are occupied by persons with foreign training.*<sup>2</sup> The comparatively small percentage of foreign-trained in Indian enterprises may be due to the tradition among families who own concerns of training their younger members for managerial roles by apprenticeship within the business. A few families in this class have sent promising young relatives abroad for foreign training, and slightly more are being sent now than in the past. But they still comprise only a minority. It would, however, be premature to conclude that there is a definite trend, inasmuch as the main expansion in the entrepreneur class is occurring among communities

<sup>2</sup>The enumeration of government workers was made from materials contained in *The Bombay Civil List*, January 1952. This record includes state officials above the clerical level. Information on academic institutions was assembled from responses to a mailed questionnaire and from published records of schools. The private business and industry data are the least complete and least reliable. The only way that any facts could be obtained was by personal visits to each concern. Indian businessmen are reluctant to give details to outsiders, and few had formal records on the educational backgrounds of members of their staffs.



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that have as yet no strong impulse to provide a higher education for their members.

There are three times as many persons trained in the United Kingdom in government and nearly twice as many in schools and business firms as there are persons trained in the United States. If a distinction is made between the pre-independence and post-independence periods of training, however, the proportions are not so widely divergent. Whereas those educated in the United Kingdom hold a wide variety of positions, those educated in the United States tend to be concentrated in jobs of a technical nature and in the newer departments and more recently established organizations. For example, in one recently established government research unit, which has a staff of slightly more than a hundred, one out of three is foreign-trained and 60 percent of the foreign-trained have studied in American institutions during the past decade. In contrast, among the officers ranked in the first class of an old-line department with administrative responsibilities in the field of education, one out of five has studied overseas, and of these 80 percent have British degrees.

A significantly larger percentage of those trained in the United States than of those trained in the United Kingdom work in private enterprises in both the pre-independence and post-independence populations. The two groups from the pre-independence period differ more than the two groups that have but recently returned. The American-educated of the earlier period run the gamut from immensely successful entrepreneurs to men on the edge of failure in their business; whereas the British-educated of the same period fall, characteristically, between the two extremes. As mentioned in the preceding chapters, in the old days the American-returned had fewer alternatives open to them in the labor market of the educated than did the British-returned. Hence, the American-trained more often had to take a chance on starting their own concerns. The British-trained more often had opportunities to move into solid jobs within established companies in which their positions were seldom steppingstones to the top but were secure. Since independence, the employment market in private business has changed and there are now

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better opportunities to enter going concerns open to the American-trained. As a result, in recent years there has been no appreciable difference between the levels of income for the two groups.

The trend for more American-educated than British-educated to enter private enterprises continues. Several reasons can be suggested for this difference. America is reputed to be the place for those interested in the technical subjects that have practical application to industry, and this in turn influences the selection of persons who go to the United States. Thus, a larger percentage of the students going to the United States get training and experience in skills that are marketable within Indian business and industry. To some extent, too, American education seems to instill a business outlook in its foreign students that is in strong contrast to British education, which influences Indian students to decide on a career in government or academic life.

### *Occupational Histories*

*Our sample shows that the rate of mobility between spheres of employment is, on the average, fairly low.* This does not reflect a high state of satisfaction; instead, it reflects the restricted state of employment possibilities and the preoccupation with personal security. Although there is relatively little mobility between spheres of employment, there are differences in the rates of change within occupations. This condition is related to the employment opportunities for various kinds of technical skills. Opportunities for engineers, for instance, differ from those for persons in agriculture. There is a steady exodus of young engineers from teaching positions in engineering colleges to better-paying jobs in private concerns, but specialists in agriculture tend to remain in agricultural colleges or government departments because farming is not a realistic alternative.

During a lifetime, the foreign-returned have better chances of moving upward into higher positions and at a faster pace than others of the same general social background and abilities who are not foreign-educated. These chances are subject, of course, to the

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social rules of their particular organization as exemplified in the formal regulations for advancement based on seniority in grade in government, in informal practices of influence, and the like. As a case in point, two thirds of the heads of colleges are foreign-educated, whereas, as noted above, only a little more than one tenth of the faculties are foreign-educated.

A foreign education is an asset in the highly competitive job market of the middle classes, but *less than 10 percent ever have jobs in which they work full time in the field for which they have taken specialized training*. The administrators of Indian organizations rarely make concerted efforts to assign employees to the specific set of tasks for which they are best qualified by special training,<sup>3</sup> and in any bureaucracy (whether in government, academic institution, or business) advancement into the higher ranks of the organization changes the role of the upwardly mobile individual from that of technician to that of administrator.

A highly specialized type of education or work experience in the West may influence the choice of an applicant over other candidates; yet the job to which he is assigned may not have many activities that require the use of this specialized knowledge. Not atypical is the case of a college teacher who concentrated on research in money and banking during his training, but who now lectures on all phases of economics and some areas of history and also has extensive administrative responsibilities.

If the primary skills of the foreign-trained are seldom put to practical use, their secondary skills are brought to bear on the work they do. Here the methods of approach and the points of view learned in the West are utilized (see Chapters II and IV).

### *Levels of Income*

The income of the foreign-educated depends on the sphere of

<sup>3</sup>It is a common tendency to compare the American ideal of appointment by merit with the actual practices of Indian society. In both societies, merit is only one of the qualities that count in the selection of personnel; additional, though different, social interests enter into assignment of individuals to jobs.

employment, and within each sphere, the spread is so great that a range is more meaningful than a single average in showing what they earn.<sup>4</sup> Given in both *rupees* and dollar equivalents, the monthly incomes of the pre-independence sample groups are: government—Rs 530 to Rs 1650 (\$111 to \$345); academic—Rs 350 to Rs 1400 (\$73 to \$291); and private enterprise—Rs 800 to Rs 5000 (\$167 to \$1046). The monthly income of the post-independence sample groups is naturally smaller, for they are not so far along in their careers: government—Rs 300 to Rs 900 (\$63 to \$188); academic—Rs 250 to Rs 750 (\$52 to \$157); and private enterprise—Rs 300 to Rs 3700 (\$63 to \$770).

Measured in terms of income, *the bulk of the foreign-educated fall into the middle section of the middle classes*; the incomes of the middle-middle class run from about Rs 150 to Rs 1500, and of the upper-middle class from Rs 750 to around Rs 2000. The reason for the overlapping is that income is only one element that determines an individual's class position—the social prestige attached to various forms of work and the style of life are other important aspects. Most of the foreign-trained have jobs with enough status to put them into the middle layers of the middle class, but those in the lower ranges of income have a hard time maintaining the style of life that goes with their class ranking. In some instances they are caught in a further squeeze by habituation to Western artifacts, books, clothes, household goods, and other amenities of modern living, which are as expensive in India as in a Western country—or more so.

The foreign-educated had hoped to earn more than they would have been able to without foreign training. Before returning to India, persons with no prior work experience in India had income expectations far higher than those who had left a job to go abroad to study. Those who had aspirations to build up their country had

<sup>4</sup>The figures presented indicate the current monthly earnings from the principal position; they do not include the supplementary sources of income that are possible in certain positions, such as consultant fees, the assignment of free housing to some offices, or outside income, such as family subsidies and personal investments.

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no lower income expectations than those who were interested primarily in getting ahead. Most of the sample who after their return entered the labor market for the first time thought that they would make at least Rs 500 on their first job and that over the next decade they would move up to somewhere between Rs 1000 and 1500. After being in the labor market for some time without realizing these hopes, they tend to scale down their hopes—but this proves to be a painful personal adjustment.

### *Employment Opportunities*

A little more than half of the foreign-trained were previously employed in India, and one half of these with prior employment returned to their old positions. The majority of the individuals who return to their former positions had a post of some rank in government or school or worked in a business owned by a relative or in a foreign firm. The foreign-educated who must find a job after their return are subdivided roughly into one third who had to rely largely on their foreign qualifications and two thirds who used influence in addition to their foreign training to help them to get placed. *On the average, it took persons without influence nearly a year to get a permanent job.* The actual elapsed time ranged from three months to three years. *Influential connections cut the period down to a small fraction of this period or to a few weeks.*

Although many voice the belief that success is mainly a matter of luck and fate, hardly any in their actual behavior act in accordance with this conception of life chances. Instead of passively waiting, they hunt prospects. Among those without any substantial influence, many are systematic, making long lists of possible employers in Bombay State and elsewhere and then either calling on or writing to one after another in the hope of locating a suitable opportunity. Residents of small towns make occasional job-hunting trips to the big cities. The foreign-returned who can afford more extensive trips travel to New Delhi and other states. Some put advertisements in

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the metropolitan newspapers, and all follow up advertised posts.

Persons with access to relatives and friends who have influence collect chits, or letters of recommendation, to impress possible employers or invite a sponsor to put in a word for them at the appropriate place. A few take "honorary" positions, that is, nonpaying jobs, in order to add practical work experience to their record, to keep in practice in the use of a technical skill, to avoid becoming known as someone who is unable to get work, or to gamble that it might turn into a regular position. It is considered easier to move to a good job from "honorary" work than from a low-ranking position with poor pay.

Most of the foreign-trained are reluctant to take a position at the bottom of an organization, for the consequences are thought to be unfortunate. They claim that if one starts at a low level, the chances of being accepted for a middle-ranking position are diminished and that, even if one is accepted, the salary probably will be less than that accorded a person who has come from a higher-paying position. Employers appraise a man in part on the basis of what he has been doing and earning in his prior employment and are tempted to try to hire a worker at a cheaper rate of pay if his prior salary was low. Furthermore, higher prestige is accorded to the individual who is appointed to a high-ranking post from the outside than to the person who is upgraded from the lower levels. An invidious distinction is made between the two; the man who has climbed is viewed as having a more limited background and a narrower outlook on life. The foreign-returned think that under these conditions their bargaining power is weakened if they accept mediocre positions.

The chances of moving up from the bottom to the top ranks within an organization are considered negligible by most of the sample population. Government workers are fearful of retarding their rate of advancement in a promotion system in which upward grading is governed by seniority rather than by merit. If they start out in a low-ranking job, they may be reducing their chances of ever reaching the level they hope to reach, and they would also be con-

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stantly behind others who began at a higher level. The foreign-returned in all spheres of employment are wary of being put in a subordinate position which might permit their superior to take credit for their work and thereby preclude any possible advancements for demonstrated ability.

In almost every case there is the sentiment that a foreign-educated man is meant for a big job and that it is an unfair return on the investment in foreign studies to settle for less as a goal. Families of the foreign-educated encourage them to hold out for a big job and rarely pressure them into taking any job just to have work. However, the foreign-educated from the lower strata of society cannot hold out so long as others and thus have to scale down their requirements.

### *Allocation of Jobs*

The Indian labor market of the educated contains a sizable number of people in competition for a limited number of opportunities. As a social system, the allocation of the scarce opportunities to the many candidates is organized around two schemes—merit and influence. The formal social rules assign positions according to academic record, prior work experience, age, and ability. The Public Service Commissions of the State and Central Governments announce vacancies and invite applications; officially the candidates are screened and ranked on the basis of qualifications.

The informal patterns of influence are woven into the social fabric and consist of customs that distribute the available opportunities to members of favored groups. The focus in Indian society is not on the imposition of deprivations to the disadvantaged but rather on assuring extra privileges to the advantaged; that is, it is not so much *discrimination against* as it is *preference for*. Intergroup prejudices exist<sup>5</sup> which restrict the opportunities open to members of certain

<sup>5</sup>See Gardner Murphy, *In the Minds of Men* (New York: Basic Books, 1953).

groups, but the main concern is not so much with the exclusion of potential competitors as it is with the gaining of extra advantages for favored competitors.

The social mechanism for giving preferential treatment in the modern economy has been built into family and community structures. Although the joint family is not as viable a social institution in the middle-class urban sections as it once was, and although the subcaste among the educated middle classes is no longer an organization that makes decisions for its members, determines their occupation, or sets a special style of life, both the family and caste serve other functions. They are mutual-aid groups which help their members gain access to the limited employment opportunities and give them social support so that they can advance ahead of other equally competent persons.<sup>6</sup>

NEPOTISM AND COMMUNALISM. "Nepotism" and "communalism" are the terms used by Indians to describe the present social patterns. Nepotism consists in dispensing favors to relatives in the world of work. It also includes the practice wherein an influential relative acts as the sponsor for an applicant. In the latter connection nepotism may entail no direct action by an important member of an extended family, for the mere fact that an individual is identified with the family can induce others to give him priority over other candidates. Because the family is the primary loyalty of most individuals, the sense of obligation to one's kin is not lightly ignored. Communalism is a similar practice applied to the members of a subcaste, caste, religion, or linguistic group. The obligations are less compelling than they are for relatives, and, as a consequence, communalism is more irregular.

Nepotism and communalism are bolstered by the belief that a person is better able to trust someone who is a member of his ingroup than to trust strangers, and both actions are rationalized on the

<sup>6</sup>For a description of the development of this social scheme in contemporary India, see G. S. Ghurye, *Caste and Class in India* (New York: The Philosophical Library, Inc., 1952).



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ground that every group is engaged in the same practices. Each group maintains that it practices less favoritism for its members than do other groups, and although most persons frown publicly on the total pattern, they nevertheless continue to conform to it. The members of some minority groups, however, are self-conscious in practicing favoritism lest they be singled out as doing so. In the words of a fairly high-ranking Muslim in the government:

A Hindu appoints hundreds of positions without making any Muslim appointees and no one says anything, but if a Muslim makes one Muslim appointment out of hundreds, everyone says it is communalism. I have had many positions to fill and I have filled some with Muslims, even though there have been rumors. I could not find it in my heart to say no to my own people.

The foreign-educated who are in a position to give preferential treatment but do not because they are opposed to the system become objects of social pressure and gossip from others in their family or community. They are harassed by being caught between their convictions and the social demands placed on them.

As the social power within Bombay State has shifted among the groups, the preferential treatment that various groups can expect has changed. The foreign-educated who belong to a group that has gained power in a locality or in a certain organization are more optimistic about their future than are those who are of a group whose power has diminished. The person's actual job may not be any different from what it was before; still, his outlook on his life chances is altered.

The Parsee and Muslim communities, for example, have slipped from the position of being groups favored by the British to being merely two more of the many minority groups. The foreign-educated in these two communities (especially if they come from a family with no great wealth or connections or if they have not become well established through prior service and outstanding ability) are less confident of their prospects than are the foreign-educated of a com-

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munity that is now officially favored—the Harijans, otherwise known as the scheduled or outcaste communities—and of communities that are moving into power. Exceptions to this occur in the case of a Parsee or Muslim who has an unusually distinguished academic record, for by tradition Indian institutions open up special opportunities for the highly gifted person, and at present public institutions need to have at least one member of an important minority in a conspicuous position as a symbol of a unified society. As put by an able, successful Muslim:

I am not worried about being a minority. An outstanding person in a minority is given extra chances for there is need to have a representative of the minority in the dominant group. The politicians have their own purposes, but I can handle them, after all I am foreign trained.

And by another with more modest talents:

It is true that it is hard for a Muslim, they do not give any great opportunity for those in the service. I am not sure what I will do in the future.

CASTE AND CLASS LINES. A redistribution of opportunities is taking place in localities in which the monopoly of privileges by certain castes is being challenged. This is especially true where caste and class lines have coincided, as in Karnatak, in the southern section of Bombay State, and in Maharashtra, in the central section of Bombay State. The Lingayat community of Karnatak is becoming ascendent in power and has been able to change the social rules and administrative practices to enlarge the opportunities open to its members. The Brahmans remain an educated upper-middle class, but they are no longer so privileged as they were. The Marathas of Maharashtra have not gone so far as the Lingayats in Karnatak in displacing the Brahmans in power, and correlated with this, the foreign-trained Brahmans of Maharashtra feel more sure of themselves than do the foreign-trained Brahmans of Karnatak.

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Caste and class lines in the Gujarat, in the northern end of Bombay State, do not run parallel. Wealth and power are concentrated largely in the Vaishya castes, such as the Patel and Banya communities, but because they have had other opportunities, they have not competed with the Brahmans to the same extent as elsewhere to obtain the limited number of jobs in the state administration and in academic life. The Brahmans have a larger percentage of foreign-educated, but they are not up against stiff competition from more powerful groups. This section of Bombay has more abundant economic opportunities than other sections of Bombay State because of its greater total wealth, and there is little likelihood of drastic redistribution of the existing opportunities.

REGIONAL-LINGUISTIC LOYALTIES. Group delineations in the allocation of the limited opportunities within Bombay State that are widest in scope, though not the most pronounced, form around regional-linguistic loyalties, for example, Maharashtrians, Gujaratis, Kannadigas. This practice is less common in a metropolis, such as Bombay City, in which foreign-educated from all three regions, as well as from regions outside the state, reside and in which communalism is somewhat muted by a cosmopolitan outlook. The foreign-educated in Bombay City are called by some the "Bombay type" to indicate in part their relative freedom from traditional attachments.

Towns and cities located in the midst of a region are somewhat insulated from modern attitudes and, as a result, are provincial-minded. Employers there usually prefer to hire members of their own region, and the State Government customarily assigns its field personnel to the regions to which they belong because the individuals know the local language and institutions.

A sharp contrast exists between educational centers that take pride in being cosmopolitan and those that hold the opposite view. The foreign-educated group in one college is composed almost exclusively of persons who belong to the region, and the head of the college uses regional identity as the first test in the selection of members of the

staff. In the foreign-educated group in a near-by college more than half originate from other regions, and the head of the college is eager to keep the school from becoming regional-minded.

In areas where the former princely state was ruled by a family from an outside region, the tendency was to recruit foreign-educated from the ruler's original region to serve in his government and schools. On the dissolution of native states, these cadres of foreign-educated were absorbed into the Bombay State Government, and although most of them have been able to retain their posts, their chances of advancement are less than those of native members of the area.

There is current in Bombay State a strong sentiment for the restructuring of the state into three states on a regional-linguistic basis. If this should be carried out, it might precipitate the rise of social boundary lines to protect the employment opportunities of the in-group.

Although the local power groups control the dispensation of most local opportunities, the Central Government has direct charge of certain administrative appointments in Bombay State. Sectors of the Center that are dominated by a group stemming from some state outside Bombay State have a higher than average percentage of their foreign-educated staff members from the state serving in Bombay State.

COUNTRY OF EDUCATION. Some preferential treatment is based on the country in which the candidate was trained. A Western-educated person on a selection committee attaches more weight to an applicant's foreign education than does an Indian-trained selector. Furthermore, the British-trained tend to scale the British-educated a bit higher than the American-educated, and, to a somewhat lesser extent, the American-trained assess the American-educated as superior. The locally trained are less united in evaluating the place of education. Some say they prefer a candidate who is home-trained in order to avoid the higher demands made by foreign-trained men, and others have greater confidence in the foreign-trained. The for-

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eign-educated, who nominally object to all types of favoritism, are not displeased when they are given priority because they are foreign-educated; rather, they regard it as their due. The American-educated of recent years are apprehensive about the attitudes of the British-educated, for there are more of them in positions of power than there are American-educated.

**SOCIAL CONVENTIONS GOVERNING FAVORITISM.** The entire system of favoritism has social conventions governing its operation; yet these conventions are far from being uniform or codified into a rigid set of social rules. The proper behavior in this system is not to solicit openly the support of a sponsor who can exert influence, although some who are in a weak position and uninhibited by the folkways do so. More properly, an apparently casual social call will provide within the later stages of the friendly conversation a carefully chosen moment to make a tactful request, accompanied by subtle reminders of mutual social bonds. An intermediary with influence may visit the person believed to have a part in the decision and, after a friendly discussion, extol the virtues of the applicant and suggest that a good word with the right persons or merely an inquiry into the progress of the application would be welcome. The candidate may be advised to write into his application that he is applying at the suggestion of a certain person. Again, the applicant may depend on eliciting the sympathy of someone in a key position who knows his family or belongs to the same community.<sup>7</sup>

When there are various families and communities competing for the same scarce opportunities and a number of individuals participating in the decision, the chances of being given priority can fluctuate. The occupational chances of one foreign-trained technician are a case in point. He had poor chances of getting the headship of an organization when candidates were being passed on in the lower echelons, for at these levels there were no members of his subcaste. But when the final decision was made at higher levels, which in-

<sup>7</sup>For additional details on the exercising of influence, see pp. 55-57.

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cluded members of his subcaste, he was picked over the candidates who had been given superior ratings. Within a large organization, the foreign-trained who have come in because of some family or community backing may have to rely on that group's position within the total organization for their future advancement. As the group's fortunes change, so do his own, unless he has succeeded in making additional attachments.

"I feel that you have lost if others have gained" are the words of a foreign-trained that best indicate a common state of mind. With the belief that life's chances are limited rather than expansive, the foreign-trained are caught up in a social scheme that encourages the individual to adopt the system of nepotism and communalism. The foreign-trained must be watchful, in addition, lest they be undercut by associates or envious persons who have been less successful. There are diverse and devious ways of undercutting. It can be done by sending to a superior an anonymous letter that makes strong accusations. Then, even though they are transparently false, the ensuing inquiry in itself is embarrassing and causes gossip that tarnishes the individual's reputation. Rumors can be invented and circulated for the same purpose, and factional intrigues can be contrived to put the person in an untenable position. These are all known in the West, but in India they have been elaborated to a higher degree. Though the foreign-returned differ in the manner of their responses to such tactics, none can afford to ignore so prominent a factor in the world of work.

### *ADAPTATION TO WORKING CONDITIONS*

The adaptation of the foreign-trained is subdivided into the following subjects: (1) personal attributes related to the sense of satisfaction and ease of adjustment, (2) the role of the individual in the organization in which he works, (3) the part that the foreign-trained play as innovators, and (4) historical developments that shape the present orientation of the foreign-educated.

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### *Personal Attributes Related to Adaptation*

Individuals who were immature or inexperienced in work when they began their studies overseas are dissatisfied with their position in Indian life on their return for a longer period of time than are those who studied abroad when mature or subsequent to having had a job in India. Four factors impede their ease of adjustment.

**FORMATION OF BASIC HABITS.** The young form basic habits while they are in the West to a greater extent than do those in the older age groups, and sooner or later these habits must be modified. Illustrating the contrast are two comments. An older man said:

I was glad to be back and decided that India was not a bad place and that I could find a place for myself. I never rejected Indian life nor ever felt there was any issue.

A young man observed:

I thought I had become a stranger in my country. It was a great disappointment to move from a very high level to a very low level. My manners had lost their polish—I had less respect for elders and I would talk to people as equals. Father feared that I would give the family a bad name. He said that I would have to make adjustments and I knew that I had to come down to earth. I am not sure that I will be an adjusted man at peace with myself or at peace with the world. I like to see and be part of an atmosphere in which each day there is an achievement, where things develop and grow. I like to work hard and get things done. Here they ask you, "Why are you knocking your head against a wall, a wall that has been here for a long time and your head cannot knock it over. Why not sit down and get used to things as they are here." I at first tried very hard to accept things as they are. The people say, "Look, you are new to India and young, you had better slow down," but I want to accomplish and so this is not conducive to happiness. I must move things; I don't feel happy with inertia.

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ACQUISITION OF FOREIGN STANDARDS. The immature acquire foreign standards which they use as their models in India; they feel that they are failures in India even when they are better off than other Indians around them. The mature have incorporated Indian values and norms prior to their departure from the country, and after their return they use them to appraise their position in relation to others in India. They feel successful compared with other local people even though they know they are less well off than persons like themselves in the West.

Typical statements from cases with strong foreign identifications are:

People really appreciate your skill there; here you can rot or decay and no one cares.

There a Cambridge man is esteemed, and here I am nothing. My relatives and friends have great hopes for me, but they don't know how terrible I am feeling. By the standards of society I am not a failure, I am a regular member of a college. But by my standards I feel myself a failure. If I had not persevered on my own, I would have been lost. It is intellectual suicide, an uncreative life.

One of my American friends who graduated at the same time as I did was given \$600 a month to start and here I was paid Rs 400 (\$84).

I have to strive ten times as hard to accomplish the same thing here as in America. I have a sense of doing something but not a sense of fulfilling something as I did there.

A fairly typical case of a person who had retained his Indian identification is the following:

I was not like the young men who expect to be treated as experts and given big jobs at big pay. I had not lost my mentality nor gained a new one. I was mature enough not to com-



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plain. I did the most correct thing in going to England. A foreign degree has value here; it brings respect and I have had an advantage over others. Because I have been foreign-qualified people treat me as abler.

**WORK EXPERIENCE.** Persons who had prior work experience in India and who had learned the rudiments of their profession adapt more easily to work patterns upon their return than do those who had not been employed and who obtained their entire professional training in the West. Probably in any society where formal education and the world of work are somewhat separate, the incoming members of an occupation are distressed by the discrepancies between the ideal practices learned at school and the actual practices encountered on a job. The distress of the foreign-educated is further intensified by the dissimilarities between the professional practices of the West and India. They have become accustomed to the most modern facilities and rigid technical standards and so feel abused when these are not present in India. The technician is likely to feel abused if he does not work on a job to which he can apply his specialized training.

Sometimes an individual may insist on professional codes that have no relevancy in the country. An example of this is the woman who was trained in an American school of social work. American social workers stress their professional standing. The foreign-returned social worker made a speech on the theme that social work was a real profession and, to indicate what she had in mind, mentioned that Gandhi was not a qualified social worker, since he had not been trained in an accredited school of social work. She was humiliated when the students went on strike in protest and the larger community disparaged all foreign-trained social workers. The less specialized are usually more satisfied with their work and the conditions surrounding it.

**SOCIAL PARTICIPATION.** In most instances the young and inexperienced have little intimate acquaintance with the realities of the

adult world in the larger society into which they move after their foreign education. The direct participation of the middle-class adolescent in social life, before going abroad, has been confined to the socially insulated circles of the family, school, and immediate community. Many are conversant with competing ideologies and political movements, but few are well informed on actual conditions in the labor markets of the educated, interpersonal relations within bureaucratic structures, or the problems involved in the introduction of modern methods into established organizations. News of these matters might filter through to them while overseas, but at such a great social distance that the individual either does not readily perceive the implications of this information for his future role or believes that with his assets in life he can "beat the system." As in any society where the adult world is separated from the social world of the adolescent, the youthful foreign-returned is faced with the painful ordeal not only of learning the facts of life but of learning them all at once.

During the course of our conversation with the foreign-trained we discovered that the average individual is habituated to phrasing his personal aims in a manner that makes them appear to be in the social interest and to blaming others rather than himself for personal misfortunes that have occurred since his return to India.

As noted in an earlier chapter, it is assumed in both the West and India that the foreign-educated will serve on behalf of their country, and leaders exert unremitting social pressures on the educated classes to serve and sacrifice for the country. As a consequence, openly avowed self-serving is hardly socially acceptable as a legitimate reason for any action. Moreover, the organizational arrangements of society (which are discussed in the next session) make the alignment of personal and social ends a difficult problem in present-day India.

In the conversations rarely did anyone intimate that any significant part of the troubles connected with his career was due to his own shortcomings. There was anxiety that others might attribute the fault to him and considerable embarrassment when it was be-

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lieved that others thought he was at fault. One explanation for the ease in ascribing the fault to others is that each person sees that others have problems of a similar nature and that none is alone. When the average American has difficulties, he tends to blame himself, for there appear to be so few others who have the same problem. In India the very existence of widespread problems among the reference groups of the individual enables him to feel that he cannot blame himself for what is due to general conditions. Another explanation is that it was a long-standing habit among Indians to blame the British for all troubles (a pattern that is common in subordinate societies), and, after the departure of the British, other social targets took their place.

We also noted, in tracing the life plans over the years, an alternating character to their aspirations, the soaring and diving of their hopes being quite pronounced. Although there are individuals with stable levels of aspirations that have been realistically related to their personal qualifications and objective opportunities, most have been mercurial in their hopes. At one point they have a self-image of rising quickly to the top and at another they imagine their lives totally wasted and themselves completely frustrated. There seems to be a quick rate of recovery from either extreme in response to each new set of circumstances. It may be that, in so uncertain a world, the individual's emotional set reflects that uncertainty.

These social traits may be a reason why the foreign-trained have been able to withstand the stresses and strains of the readjustment to Indian life with a low incidence of personality disorganization. In combination with the self-confidence acquired abroad, the foreign-educated possess, in general, remarkable faith in themselves.

A foreign education is connected with the maintenance or advancement of status in life, and in most cases this objective is attained. In instances where the status of the foreign-educated is lower than that of his father, it is due to one of two causes. First—and more commonly—the returned is just beginning his lifework and starts at a lower level than his parent; second, a misfortune may have oc-

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curred, such as the collapse of a family-owned business, or the relatives or the community may have lost influence among the people of power.

**OCCUPATIONAL GOAL.** The vast majority enter different occupations from those of their fathers. The one consistent exception is found among the sons of the upper-middle class whose families are managing agents for large businesses or industry. The sons join the family enterprise unless there are peculiar circumstances, such as extreme tensions between the foreign-educated and the relatives. If the family has lost its control over the business while the person was growing up or was overseas, then he is most likely to join a foreign firm in the hope of restoring the family's status; should that not be possible, he usually takes a secure government or academic post. The children of government and academic men most often make a career of service in one of these two spheres, although often in a different specialty.

Some of the foreign-educated unconsciously evaluate their progress in life by comparing their present social position with that of others in the group from which they originated. The foreign-returned who stem from a group that contains only a few who have advanced in status are more satisfied than those who are members of a group in which the status they occupy is commonplace. Thus, the foreign-educated who were born in an "untouchable" caste, a lower class, or a village more frequently express satisfaction with the job they hold than do the foreign-trained among Brahmans, middle classes, and urban people who have similar positions.

Persons who have moved up from the lower levels of society feel pleased with their social station and successful in relation to the rest of the group from which they emanate and are inclined to say emphatically that their foreign education has been rewarding. Although they evaluate their positions in relation to the group from which they originate, they are not compelled to adjust back to this group. Their very success dictates mobility. They may be highly esteemed by the community from which they started, but the community does not expect the foreign-educated to share its way of life. Contrariwise,

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persons who have remained at about the same social rank in life as others in the group from which they came are inclined to express a sense of frustration, are not convinced that they have achieved very much, and perhaps wonder whether they have gained the benefits that ought to be forthcoming to the foreign-educated. Persons who remain at about the same social rank as others in their group are expected to adjust back to the pattern of their community when interacting with its members.

### *Role of the Individual in Organizations*

IN BUREAUCRACIES. The social organizations in which most of the foreign-educated are employed take the form of bureaucracies. Bureaucracies in all societies have much in common, yet each society's bureaucratic structure contains features that are peculiar to it.

Indian organizations have the power of decision highly centralized at the top in contrast to American bureaucracies which, to a far greater degree, subdelegate authority and responsibility for decisions to the intermediate levels of the administration. This difference is manifest in the roles of the foreign-educated who occupy positions in the middle ranges of an administration. The technician is tightly circumscribed in what he is permitted to do on his own initiative and must wait for approval from above before he can act. Proposals of any importance must be passed up through the hierarchy until they reach the top-ranking officials in the organization. These officials are heavily burdened by the numerous decisions that they alone can make and are harassed by having to make decisions on technical questions about which they have only modest knowledge. Many government officials in the high levels are hard pressed by demands that exceed the available resources, hesitate to make decisions that commit the organization to risk-laden projects, and waver in their decisions as diverse pressures are exerted on them. The hemmed-in feeling of the task-centered and improvement-minded foreign-educated is aggravated by the time lag between proposal and decision. Also they have a profound sense of being thwarted

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when they are not consulted at all on subjects in which they are competent to offer advice and especially so when a foreign expert is brought in to give advice on the same subject.

In organizations in which immediate superiors are wary of the foreign-educated—ignoring their suggestions or telling them outright their job is to carry out the assignments—the foreign-trained are irritated and have low morale. In these instances, the superior may feel threatened by inferiors who invade his formal prerogatives of office and apprehensive that a foreign-trained subordinate with greater technical knowledge may jeopardize his prestige by showing up his shortcomings.

The foreign-trained technicians in the middle ranks say:

My foreign training has no use here and is not appreciated. The government has no understanding about the fine points of what use can be made of a particular kind of professional training. I want to do the things in the way we were taught to do them, but here it is hard to get people to see the light.

I have not been able to do much because there is hesitation at the top in making decisions and no clear policy as to what we are supposed to be doing.

Decisions are slow and constantly cross-checked; decisions, right or wrong, should be made quickly. Here they are not made or are made awkwardly. Individual initiative is stifled and we do not have teamwork. I cannot do any of the real work I am interested in.

Our immediate and biggest problem is that Indian experts have no voice in the higher councils of policy making. I can make some decisions because I am the head of a department, but when the higher issues come up they are passed on by those above me regardless of anything we have to say.

IN PRIVATE ENTERPRISES. Large-scale, Indian-owned private enterprises confront the foreign-trained technician with comparable restrictions but with a different kind of problem. Business and indus-

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trial firms are directed by what are known as managing agencies, and a large number of the agencies represent interlocking families of certain subcastes or communities. Many of the controlling groups are more concerned with the immediate return on their investment than with long-range developments. The executives in charge of subsidiary firms are usually members of the families and are supposed to make the necessary decisions and to supervise the activities of the technicians. In general outlook, these owners and executives resemble the American tycoons of a half century ago. There is little interest in the welfare of the workers or in exercising social leadership in the larger society. The ethics of an engineer who has absorbed Western ideas about efficiency, the replacement of obsolescent equipment with modern machinery, and the responsibilities of management for labor collide with the ethics of quick profits and low expenditures.

The men who manage big firms won't listen to us. I want to keep up the standards which I learned, the engineering principles, but it is hard when you do not have the support of management.

They just don't understand why we want certain things and why we have to have certain things to do a good job. They say that my foreign training has given me big ideas and that I want expensive machinery.

The managing agents do not have the technicians on their board of directors, and the board is too busy to give much attention to any industry. The managing agents don't see the fine points of running a plant, and they won't give the technician a real chance. The managing agents want a monopoly of power, for they do not trust outsiders.

IN ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS. Most academic institutions have a greater decentralization of power than do governmental departments and private enterprises. Nevertheless, the dispersal of authority and responsibility among the faculties is far less than in American universities. The content of courses, for example, is standardized for all

colleges within a university system; the professor must follow the prescribed syllabus in order to prepare the student for the annual university-wide examination. The examination, rather than the instructor, determines which students pass and their level of achievement. A foreign-trained lecturer who departs too far from the syllabus creates anxiety among the students, for they are concerned primarily with the mastery of sufficient knowledge to succeed in the examination. The foreign-educated who have a keen interest in good teaching and research regard their efforts as unrewarding in government-run schools, which advance the individual on the basis of seniority and influence.

I found that a teacher was not a master in his own college and that I had given up my freedom for a bureaucracy. There is no credit for outstanding effort and no punishment for incompetence. I tried to follow the English method which was not appreciated. I was criticized by students for not dictating notes; colleagues said that my standards were too high. I would like my name to stand for a basic contribution; I have lots of ideas but no chance.

The caliber of the man and the quality of the work is not recognized here as is the case in England. Here it is politics and seniority. They do not fill posts in England if no good man is available and they create higher posts for good men. Here in the end you get demoralized. The men under these conditions lose interest in teaching and research and after a while they shift their goals. My life could have been far more productive and worthwhile.

The picture is not entirely black, however, for there are important exceptions. Notable among them are newly formed organizations that are not encompassed by old bureaucratic customs and are inspired by modern-minded leadership, the traditional private societies that run educational institutions along democratic lines, and the semiautonomous sections of old-line organizations that are comparatively free from the usual type of control because the head of the



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organization has enlightened views on handling personnel and the power to carry out his ideas. These disparate structures have some elements in common. Although hierarchies exist, the members of the group look upon themselves as a team; superiors encourage subordinates to make constructive suggestions and give them credit for their accomplishments; and technicians have a large degree of authority and responsibility for their work. The foreign-trained in this type of organizational environment say:

I am free to act on my own initiative and to make decisions on my own. I like this kind of work. I can succeed here, for if a man has anything, he will come out on top. Now I feel bold and confident.

I like the sense of being in charge of a job and having something to show for the work. I was attracted to this company because I wanted to start something from scratch and they offered me the chance to start a chemical division. I was to design the whole thing, and this was right in line with my skills. The owners respected me because of my knowledge and the way I applied it. As a technician I could talk freely with the old man, and the young boy of the family over me was both smart and well trained by his father.

I am happy with this position, for I have freedom. I fit in here and I like it. I can do my own design work. There is no hidden hierarchy. I am told what my work is and left alone to do it.

An outsider visiting the various kinds of organizations in which the foreign-trained are at work is impressed by the contrasts in the social atmosphere. In those where the staff in the middle levels are disaffected, the work seems to move along at a routine pace with the individual workers more or less faithfully conforming to the regulations. The foreign-educated do what they have to and, after experiencing rebuffs for extra efforts, do only what they are called upon to do. There is a low sense of identification with the goals of the organization and, over the course of time, a substitution of personal

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goals. We met numerous foreign-trained in these organizations who said that they were really interested in scientific research but were doing very little; some were merely going through the motions of doing research; others were concentrating on the political game that could lead to advancement; and still others had abandoned their earlier dreams and had moved into any position of status and better pay open to them in the administration.

The social climate in an organization that gives opportunities to the middle rank appears quite different. There seems to be a general spirit of enthusiasm, an exciting sense that important work is being done, and personal pride in the organization's accomplishments. Here the foreign-trained could be found at work nights, weekends, and holidays, and they were speculating on the next steps to advance the work. Even when they had not achieved much to brag about, they felt that they were progressing and were hopeful about their future work.

The total picture is not neatly divisible into these two types, for there are many admixtures. Thus, we encountered foreign-trained in organizations that gave them no encouragement who still persevered on their own, and we observed foreign-trained in progressive organizations who were dissatisfied with their roles. The foreign-educated who are employed in foreign-controlled organizations (business firms and governmental missions) are pleased by the latitude allowed them, but they are disgruntled when treated as inferiors to the foreigners in the organization. Invidious distinctions, such as being left out when a policy conference is called or being assigned to poorer quarters than those allotted to the foreigners, have high emotional significance.

Again, the foreign-educated who belongs to a wealthy family that owns a company may be placed in a position of responsibility but he may have no real authority or may have to struggle with conservative kin who share power and do not wish to change and expand the enterprise. Such a case is a man who was trained in agriculture and joined his brothers in managing a farm of 1300 acres.

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In principle, I am my own boss, I look after the dairy side. But I have not been able to do anything on my own, make any changes. I like the work but my brothers are opposed to taking any risk with experiments that would take ten years to prove and might fail. We could not agree and have decided to divide up the land. If I cannot make a profit after the land is divided, I will have to go into government service.

A foreign-trained engineer said:

I went to work for father. I had no duties. The position of technical director meant nothing for the authority was kept in other hands. I would like my present job if I had more authority to make decisions and if there were more scope to the work. I have a better break than most, for my family is wealthy, but I wish I could do more.

In some Indian industries, the technicians who are not related to the managing agents are dropped as soon as their specialized knowledge is familiar to others. Consequently, some technicians make a practice of withholding vital information on the operations they introduce as a form of job security.

### *The Foreign-Trained as Innovators*

Innovations within Indian organizations, where most of the foreign-trained work, depend upon a combination of elements. The following were found to be crucial in the successful transference of Western technology and methods by the foreign-trained:

1. As indicated above, Indian bureaucratic structures have a high concentration of the power of decision in the top-ranking offices of the hierarchy. The foreign-trained who have the best chances to innovate occupy top positions of authority or possess substantial influence with a higher authority. Correlated with this, the foreign-trained who act as agents of change usually are not young and have served in the organization for a considerable period of time. The

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very young lack the seniority to qualify for a post high enough in social capital to have influence in important decisions. Furthermore, a newcomer in an Indian organization is not greatly trusted. Even when the foreign-educated is a relative, those in authority prefer to watch his behavior over several years. For strangers still more caution is exercised. If the new employee is foreign-trained, there may be an extra amount of reserve on the part of the authorities, for they want to know how practical the foreign-trained will prove to be. The official who has not studied abroad hesitates to trust someone whose ideas may be too foreign for application to Indian conditions, and those trained in the United Kingdom are somewhat wary of those recently trained in the United States because of their seeming overaggressiveness and eagerness to introduce changes.

2. In a society that has a small margin of economic resources there is hesitation in taking risks. Financial costs, of necessity, are of primary consideration, and the limited reserves are a constant deterrent to expense-incurring changes. The poverty of resources tends to induce a state of mind in which the rationale for resistance to change is stated in terms of lack of money to experiment. There is little resistance, however, if the foreign-trained can demonstrate that an innovation will yield an immediate and tangible return or if, through successful past performances, he has earned the confidence of those in control of funds.

The foreign-returned who think of improvement and expansion as desirable ends in themselves or who cite the existence of a practice in the West as the chief reason for adoption of a policy are baffled by the rejection of what seems to them to be clearly the only reasonable course of progressive action. The anxieties connected with costly outlays for equipment and risks with the untried methods compel decision makers to select Western practices on the basis of their proved worth. Copying from the West is governed far more by the estimates of whether an item can be successfully transformed to fit Indian conditions than by the possibilities of gaining prestige by borrowing Western artifacts and techniques. There is a greater readi-

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ness to adopt items from the West in new types of activities in which there is no indigenous way of meeting a recognized need and in which the West has developed the means for dealing with the problem.

3. Innovations have the most favorable prospects of becoming established in those organizations that have a group of modern-minded members in key positions. The persons on the staff who resist changes are forced to adjust to the new schemes, and they have a harder time undercutting persons who are engaged in experimentation. Another critical factor, which may be decisive in some instances, is the presence of a staff capable of implementing the adopted program. An organization that contains many foreign-trained in offices of authority and in positions of assistants to these officers has considerable opportunity to make far-reaching innovations. But where the changes involve not merely acceptance by the staff but also acceptance by a larger public, the rate of innovations is determined mainly by the public response.

4. On the personal level, the innovators in our sample have more than a foreign education. A few are persons with a gift for creativity; most have a capacity for working cleverly in the Indian medium; and nearly all possess qualities of character that have gained for them the respect and confidence of others.

We cannot say categorically what qualities make for these capabilities nor classify the motives that guide the behavior of these persons. We can say that many who had the latent talent to invent or to transpose foreign ideas to India learned skills in the West that enabled them to fulfill their potentiality. In addition, many men and women of ability might never have been able to qualify for a position that allows them to make significant innovations if they had not had a foreign education. There are some gifted persons in the population surveyed who had made innovations before they studied abroad, and probably others would have done the same even if they had not had foreign training. In our sample a fairly large proportion of cases who have some degree of ability have not yet held positions

that would allow them to make any important innovations. And there are also foreign-educated who lack the intelligence to do anything more than routine work of a mundane nature.

The innovators are neither more nor less altruistic in their motives than others. It is not uncommon for the foreign-trained, especially for those educated in the United States, to claim that their actions are motivated by a desire to help the country. Indians who disparage the foreign-trained, and especially those most critical of the American-trained, assert that "the spirit of service is conspicuous by its absence." From what we could discern in the complex area of human motivation, the innovators were persons whose self-interest merged with social interest. These points are illustrated in three instances where the foreign-educated have had successful roles as agents of change.

A COOPERATIVE MILK-PRODUCERS ASSOCIATION. The management of a district cooperative milk-producers association that includes cultivators in about sixty villages was taken over nearly five years ago by a foreign-trained engineer in his early thirties. This individual had returned to India in 1948 and was assigned by the government to an obscure position that was totally unrelated to his training and interests and paid a modest salary.

I was completely frustrated; my job consisted of putting a few drops of oil in a machine each day and I was mainly interested in the cash offered by a job.

The dairy of the cooperative was located in the same town, and in his free hours he served as a consultant on an honorary basis. Though he was respected for his obvious technical competence, there was some opposition to his being appointed dairy manager for the cooperative when that post became vacant. Some of the board members pointed out that he did not belong to any of the subcastes in the district or even to the province. The association, however, was suffering from a variety of difficulties, and in the absence of any other qualified technician who might act as manager he was chosen.

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It was not until I had taken over the management that I realized the great challenge there was for me to be of great service. Self-interest did not cease to motivate me, but now it coincided with a wider and greater interest. I saw what my work could mean for society, and I could not ignore it.

He soon brought into the organization as his first assistant an unemployed friend who had been his classmate in the West. The assistant worked for six months without pay and then was hired on a permanent basis. The two established a close working relationship with the head of the local agricultural college, an influential resident of the district who belongs to its dominant subcaste, who is highly esteemed by the group in power, and who has been the moving spirit in the formulation of the cooperative's programs. On a number of occasions the college principal, who also is foreign-trained, has suggested ideas to the two men, and they have put them into effect. The association itself is under the direction of men who are powerful in the local section of the Congress Party, and the party leaders in the district regard the cooperative as one of their prize undertakings. Although the engineer and his assistant did not have much influence, they were linked from the start with men who had.

Obsolescent equipment in the dairy was the cause of many troubles in the operation of the plant. The manager advocated that the worst facilities be scrapped and new equipment imported from the West. Resistance to the proposed changes developed among some board members, who argued that the facilities recommended would not work in India even though they had been successful elsewhere. The manager insisted that the machinery would work, and, with the backing of key men on the board whose confidence had been won, the planned installations were adopted. Through Congress Party connections of the top men in the association, the government was persuaded to grant the cooperative several hundred thousand *rupees* to modernize the plant. The equipment proved, after a few early mechanical difficulties, to be exactly what was needed, and the association began to show a handsome profit.

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At the suggestion of the three foreign-trained men, the cooperative expanded its work in the villages. Buses and trucks were obtained to provide mobile units for free veterinary and artificial-insemination services, and tractors were purchased and loaned out at a slight charge to help the cultivators work the land. Diesel water pumps were installed in villages to supply water for domestic use and for irrigation; cement cattle stands, silo towers, milk sheds, and manure pits were built in some villages.

Educational and charity funds were formed from the association's profits to aid in the training of nurses, to support local hospitals, and to offer scholarships to outstanding students at any level. A juvenile rally, fashioned after the 4-H in America, is staged regularly in each village, and small prizes are awarded to children under fifteen who are winners of the stock shows. As an incentive to the villagers, annual prizes are given to the villages who have the highest and best milk production, good management of the village cooperative society, and the largest percentage of village membership in the association.

Not all of these innovations have proved successful. Some have failed because they were rejected by the villagers. But the over-all success of the changes has netted the manager and his assistant a high degree of social capital which tides them over the rough spots. The manager describes it this way:

At first I was a success in my work. Then I made mistakes, but I wanted to experiment. People even warned me that I would make these mistakes, and some of my experiments were a failure, such as the common milk sheds which cost Rs 10,000. If I am mistaken, the mistakes are now accepted, and I am not threatened as a result. I can keep thinking of constructive things to do, knowing that much needs to be done and any gain will be significant for the people.

The three men make every possible effort to strip their technological innovations of their Western cultural trappings, and the two



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provincial outsiders strive to relate themselves to the local people.

Interviews with the Indian heads of the association disclosed that they were enthusiastic in their support of the technicians. When the manager was offered a better-paying job in private industry, they immediately raised his salary and noted with appreciation that he turned down an offer that exceeded what they could afford to pay. During our visit it was apparent that mutual respect prevailed between the technicians and the heads and that they shared a common interest in introducing further innovations.

A TEXTILE FACTORY. The second instance of innovation is a large textile factory, which has as its technical leadership two Western-trained engineers who returned to India before the onset of World War II. Their chief assistants, who are the heads of departments, are also foreign-trained.

The establishment of the company was conceived by a member of a wealthy family that controls a number of enterprises. After studying the textile industry in Japan, he decided to emulate their methods.

There I saw the model which I used in setting up our scheme. The Japanese industries had ties with foreign firms and so instead of starting from nothing, they started at the point to which the foreign firms had developed their technology. In India, we don't want to experiment, we cannot afford to do so as yet. We want to follow successful models from elsewhere; we want time-tested methods that have proved successful.

With this in mind I went to the United States to explore the prospects. What I found there would not work here, for American plants had put large investments in technological advancements to save labor—a high-cost item in the United States—and the machinery was of such a nature as to demand high-priced technicians. And, more important, we would need equipment replacements which could not be secured from local industries if required immediately.

I wanted a company that was Indian all the way through. We did not want any foreigners, for we do not trust them and

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we wanted no strings. My main problem was the selection of technicians. I felt we must have technicians who know conditions in this country and who have had practical experience. Many technical people here are only bookworms. I also wanted a unified staff that could work together.

The company was started on 3½ million *rupees*, and its authorized capital is 10 million *rupees*. The managing agent receives 10 percent of the net profits plus the costs of office maintenance. The managing agent worked out an agreement with an American firm, whereby, for a cash payment plus royalties, the American firm would train technicians and keep them informed on new technological developments for a period of ten years, would offer technical help in the design of the plant, and would permit the use of their patents.

The managing agent picked as his chief technician a distant relative whose father was well known to his father. This technician had a Ph.D. from a highly rated American institution and an excellent reputation in an Indian firm where he had been employed for six years. He said: "I thought it over for eight months and finally decided to accept because it was a chance to build a new industry." After accepting the key position, the technician persuaded the head of the company to take his former assistant in the prior employment as the next ranking man. This man also had been trained in the same university in the United States.

The three men then set up a committee which screened six more technicians from more than a hundred applicants. The company spent Rs 150,000 to send the two technicians and their six assistants to the United States for a year's training. All were put under five- to seven-year contracts before going abroad, and each was given a special assignment. The young men were detailed to the departments that they were to be in charge of on their return and the two older men concentrated on learning the fundamental principles and economics of operations. Conferences for the group as a whole were held each week, at which the emphasis was on learning the reasons

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behind each aspect of the business so that adaptations to fit Indian conditions could be worked out.

Following completion of the foreign training, the plant was built, and the original group are all still employed in the work for which they were trained.

The team idea has been stressed in the development and operations of the company and the subordinate technicians have free access to the two senior-ranking technicians. Committees pass on plant-wide operations, informality characterizes the interpersonal relations between the team members, and continuous attention is paid to keeping open the channels of communication within the group. The plant manager says:

My staff never feel hesitant about walking into my room, and they feel free to argue with me, they confess their mistakes, and they can be certain that I will take their interests into account. The senior ranking officials in most Indian companies feel that the only way to make people work is through threats, fear, and awe. They feel that they can buy anything with money and that the value of a man is measured in money and that people work for their self-interests and no one else's. We do not use these principles here.

Interviews with each member of the team and observation of their behavior both in the plant and in social situations confirmed this interpretation.

Here we are our own bosses in a way, we can try out most of our ideas. The team approach makes the difference. There is no stealing of credit among the group. We work together and associate together socially.

We learned to work together and we can discuss freely among ourselves our problems without any differences in rank standing in the way. We have a sense of being part of a big job; when we are all asked to do a big job and feel a key part in it,

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we do our very best. We worked 18 to 19 hours a day when the plant started and had no objections.

There is psychological quietness here; the group scheme is good for it makes for mutual cooperation and no undercutting between technicians. We know that our ideas will be listened to and decided on their merits.

The managing agent put a nephew in charge of the total enterprise. The nephew is a twenty-four-year-old with no advanced training. He has been delegated the power to make decisions on certain subjects, but many of the operational decisions are left up to the technicians. Once a week the managing agent, the young man in charge, and the two top technicians meet, but most routine issues are supposed to clear through the nephew. The nephew is somewhat eager to assert his superior status in the hierarchy and to invoke his authority, but his values are more traditional than those of the technicians. As a result, there have been differences of opinion, but no serious crises. Although the group of technicians has been under some strain, these have been alleviated in a large part by having free access directly to the managing agent and indirectly to the agent's father, who visits the plant once a week.

In the beginning the technicians had sufficient financial reserves available and none of the encumbrances of an outmoded plant. They were building up a brand-new enterprise which made money from the start and hence were in favorable position to innovate. The senior technician has attempted to apply the principles learned abroad to local conditions.

I did not favor copying the ways of the foreigners wholesale. The thinking has to be done by us and not by the foreigners who have no incentive to think for us. We have to do our own brain work, and the sooner we make a beginning, the better it is for us.

In addition to making a series of technological changes in the processes of manufacturing, the social organization of the plant and

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of the adjacent colony for workers was developed along new lines. The basic policy was to select the workers at a higher level than was done at most plants and to provide them with both the opportunity to advance and permanency of employment. Emphasis was on the dignity of labor, according to which persons of any rank could do the physical labor required and workers in the inferior ranks would be treated as associates. A club house that was open to all employees of the company was built, and the housing for the families, although allowing for some distinctions in rank, is not so sharply demarcated that status differences are conspicuous. Cooperative stores, bus service, a dairy, medical care, school, and other facilities were designed for shared use by all at the same level and with all segments sharing in the responsibility for their administration.

Not all of the innovations have worked out as anticipated. The two top technicians and their team believe that the present shortcomings could be offset by further progressive measures, but they have to cope with both resistance from below and pressure from above. The literate workers who were recruited were of a high caliber; not all, however, were content to do manual labor, and some of the workers have been uneasy over the unfamiliar pattern of being treated as associates. The local labor union, which was viewed sympathetically in its inception, was captured by Communists, who staged several costly strikes to demonstrate their power. The technicians are more democratic-minded than are the common laborers in the social life of the colony; whereas the former act as co-equals at the club and in sports, the latter are disposed to behave as subordinates and to be reserved in the presence of their superiors. In addition, certain members of the managing agent's family are reluctant to allow any more social innovations in the colony or alterations in the plant for the sake of social reform or greater efficiency of output.

Notwithstanding these setbacks, the forward-looking technicians in alliance with the able leadership of the managing agent have created an industrial landmark in Bombay State.

**A NURSERY SCHOOL.** The third example of innovation is a nursery school. Its orientation is epitomized in the formal statement of

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its policy: "Our aim is to guide and develop the child's inherent powers in a free atmosphere of understanding and love."

The creators of this institution are a woman who was trained in England and a man who studied in America. Both returned from the West in the mid-1930's and re-entered their former lines of work—she in the government as the headmistress of a girl's school and he in a missionary college. After they married, they continued to work in their separate fields. Then they decided, as a husband and wife team, to establish a neighborhood nursery in the lower-middle-class section of a city. The husband, who had written his Ph.D. thesis in America on the education of children in India, and the wife, whose chief interest in England had been how to integrate the formal education of young people with Indian life, pooled their ideas.

The wife continued in her regular employment in order to assure the family of a steady income and in her free time worked with her husband to develop a school. They started with a few neighborhood children and soon had seventy-five in attendance. Parents who could afford to pay were charged a small monthly fee, and parents who could not afford to do so were asked to contribute their help in building up the facilities for the children. One of the aims of this couple was to get children from as many different groups as they could find in order to instill, as far as possible, an outlook free from traditional prejudices and provincialism. From among the applicants they have chosen children from the diverse communities in the area, and there are now thirteen different languages represented.

A great variety of facilities have been improvised. Among these are garden plots, to enable each child to learn how to grow things; rabbits, to teach the care of animals; a stage, for the presentation of plays and dances which will inculcate appreciation for Indian art forms; and a small swimming pool, work tools, implements for handicraft, and a jungle gym. Lunch is an occasion to teach nutrition, and each child is trained in self-dependence. The social atmosphere is free from authoritarianism, and the main attention is on the personal development of each child.

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The school was opened in their small home, which before long was overcrowded. Having gained the respect of leading citizens in the town, they had none of the difficulties faced by others who sought loans for new building. The couple found a patron (a member of the board of directors of a local bank) who himself is foreign-trained and a warm advocate of small, pioneer enterprises by the foreign-trained. He arranged for a loan and helped in working out their future development. They designed a new building that would make the school a paying proposition. The upper part was built as a hostel and provided with modern conveniences, thereby assuring it of a steady clientele of visitors to the city; the lower floor of the building serves as the school as well as the couple's home.

The couple now look forward to expansion that will provide an education for many more children than can now be accommodated. Growth in size is not their only goal. They are framing plans for further enrichment of the education offered. By their vision and character they have accomplished what many said could not be done.

What are their motives? The husband says:

I was ambitious before I went abroad. I always wanted to go to the top and that was the reason I got the Ph.D. There, I became even more ambitious. I have wanted to build up things here.

And the wife:

I wanted to become somebody big and to be in a position to do something worth while.

Self-interest and social interest have telescoped in a way that enables them to help build a modern society.

### *Historical Developments That Shape Orientation*

Historical developments within India and the relationship of the individual to these developments contribute to the present orientation of the foreign-educated.

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CONDITIONS SINCE WORLD WAR II. Recent social trends have led to an inflation in the number of the foreign-trained and a deflation in their social capital. The steady increase in the number who have studied in a foreign country since the end of World War II has meant that a foreign degree is no longer a rare asset in the competitive labor market. The social prestige of being the first in a town to go abroad for foreign training and of being one of the very few foreign-qualified in an organization or profession no longer exists. Formerly, the holder of a first-class degree from an English university was assured of a glowing public welcome on his return. He was regarded as a good match for the daughters of the best families in his subcaste, who were prepared to offer a sizable dowry and their influential backing in getting a position; he could choose from among several high-ranking job offers; and he could look forward to a bright future. Today the man who is foreign-educated has his picture in the paper on his return, is congratulated by his relatives and friends, and thereafter is on his own to make his way in life. In short, foreign education gives a person less bargaining power than it did in the old days.

Not only are there more foreign-returned in the country than ever before, but there are also many more foreign-returned who are not esteemed. As a result, the honor and respect that were once accorded to all of the foreign-educated have fallen off. The mass exodus of persons with varying abilities has caused many people to be skeptical of whether or not the best are going and to suspect that the person with a high foreign degree may not be any better than others.

There is less difference now between the income and status of the foreign-educated and those educated locally than there was when the British ruled India. Consequently, the foreign-educated are not the "big" persons they were in the past. Formerly, an Indian educated at Oxford or Cambridge who entered into the Indian Civil Service was a member of the elite from the time he returned; currently, a man of comparable education joins the government services as a Class II officer, and it may be twenty years or so before he moves



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from the middle to the top. Moreover, the social distance between the middle and the top of the hierarchy has been reduced since independence, and, as a result, the top of the administrative pyramid is not socially quite so high as it was.

The foreign-returned formerly were the *avant garde* of the latest ideas and most modern methods. Acculturation has narrowed the social gap in India between those in the middle classes who have lived in a foreign country and those who have not. Though the foreign-educated still return with new information, other channels of communication between India and the West have been opened up on a widespread scale, and, hence, much of what the returned student brings back lacks novelty. Moreover, Western and modern are no longer construed as synonymous in India. There are modern-minded persons who are not excited by Western customs and who prefer the Indian version to the Western version of being modern.

CHANGING ATTITUDE IN INDIA. Indian theories on social and economic development have tended to stress the country's need for plans that would fit its own special conditions. In the classic words of Gandhi, "I want the cultures of other countries to blow through the window of my house, but I do not wish to be swept off my feet by any one of them," and as put by an engineer who serves as an adviser on present national planning, "We don't need and don't want the most advanced technology merely because it is advanced. Our country must develop in keeping with our traditions." The supporting social props that maintained a readiness to emulate the foreigner were weakened by the nationalist movement and partly shattered by independence. The returned who used to add to their glamour by the conspicuous display of foreign mannerisms and who had a receptive audience to listen avidly to how things were done "there" have been replaced by the returned who find it to their interest to slough off surface "foreignisms."

These fundamental changes have made it easier for the foreign-returned of recent years to adjust to the Indian environment, but, at the same time, their social capital has depreciated in value.

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INDEPENDENCE. Independence for India was an historical event which affected the lives of most of the foreign-educated. Along with others, the foreign-educated had the vision of India on the threshold of a new era of expansion in all spheres of activity. General levels of expectation moved up, personal career plans were revised, and new roles were assumed. The foreign-trained who had thought that their entire lives would be spent in the struggle for freedom and who had spent years in and out of prisons for opposing the British were suddenly transformed into policy makers and officials. Many of those in the middle ranks of the government moved up into high-ranking administrative positions vacated by the departing British authorities. Students abroad at the time of independence and those who went soon thereafter looked forward to important positions, starting a successful business, and advancing fast in whatever line of work they entered. Eight out of ten in our sample cases anticipated playing a vital role in the country. However, the actual rate of national expansion has lagged far behind the projected development, and within the educated middle classes the rate of unemployment has begun to mount.

The foreign-educated of both the older and younger generations were caught between their heightened expectations and their unrealized ambitions. Our life-history documents reveal a growth in diffuse feelings of frustration. Before independence the British were blamed for all shortcomings; now the "government" serves as the social target of the frustrations. And in the higher levels of the government there are other "theys" who are blamed—with the foreign-educated coming in for a share of the criticisms. Perhaps in all societies there is a tendency to blame certain groups of persons for adverse conditions that impose deprivations on the society's members.

Our materials also reveal a difference between the older and younger generations in their responses to the present situation. The older men are no less bothered by the frustrations than the younger men are, but more of them believe that a person should fight for what he believes to be right and strive to attain worth-while goals no

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matter what the obstacles may be in life. Perhaps the older men are habituated to coping with adversity and have the security of a firm foothold on the occupational ladder. Certainly those who have succeeded irrespective of obstacles are the most vigorous in the expression of this point of view.

Typifying this is the life story of an English-trained engineer who had no backing or resources when he returned to India in the thirties. After checking in a telephone book for the addresses of mills, he began the rounds of looking for a position. "I was told that an Indian could not hold the kind of position I was qualified for, that I was too dark to be an engineer." Following months of unemployment, he obtained a moderate-salaried job as an engineer, but he lost it when his activity in the Congress Party became known. With meager capital and improvised equipment, plus two workers, he opened a small shop to manufacture parts for mills, but the British would not purchase his products. From six in the morning until nine at night he worked in his shop, and then worked until midnight for the Congress Party passing out leaflets and doing similar tasks.

I was drained dry of all life. As a youngster I had been cheerful, but there was no laughter left in me. I kept going nonetheless. This period further showed me the value of freedom and how to take hard times. The British were good enemies—they were fighting for their country and we were fighting for ours. I had to help break their chains and do my damndest.

In later years his small enterprise began to grow, and he is now a prosperous businessman with several hundred workers in his employ. But he still works ten hours a day.

I do not believe that anyone with ability and character can be stopped. I cannot understand why young men cannot fight for what they think is right. Indians tend to look for security, to brood and feel self-pity. The foreign-trained ought to take anything as a start, and then they can keep going.

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In informal discussions with the foreign-educated on his staff, he scolds those who say they are disappointed and discouraged over present conditions in India and pleads with them to be dedicated to the country in whatever kind of work they do in life.

The recent setbacks are an inevitable part of the transition. We have the power, now it is being misused, but until we learn how to use it we have to go through a transition. Sooner or later we shall learn. Some are opposed to every plan and claim they will not work, but the real test is not this or nothing; it is having something from which we can work to something better.

The younger generation, notably those who feel unsuccessful, offer such comments as the following:

My relatives and friends have great hopes for me. They don't know how terrible I am feeling. I believe that when a person has ability to do things, it is up to others to employ him. How can the country advance with its intelligence, its technicians going to waste? I am not entering into any service until I can do something—otherwise to hell with it.

I went for training so that I could do something for the development of the country, and when there I realized its full importance. Then I came back to nothing. Evidently India does not want me and so I feel that any part of the world is good enough for me.

Before coming back, I knew that India was free and must expand. I felt self-confident that I would come out on top and that I would do something worthwhile and constructive. I want an opportunity to do things, but this is hard to do here. Everyone talks about how much of a duty we have to India; the government says to make sacrifices and work for the country. I am willing to work, but I have to live.

If one works hard here it does not matter—there is no reward. I do not feel that I am getting returns on my education. No matter how well or poor I work, there is no future.

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One out of nine in the older and one out of four in the younger age groups considered leaving the country to look for employment elsewhere after their return. They have been constrained from doing so by a variety of reasons. Some have a sense of obligation to the family. This was especially true among oldest sons, who are supposed to help look after the younger members of the family until they become self-supporting or are married, and among men whose wives knew no foreign language and have resisted living in a foreign country. Some had latent hopes that eventually a good position would materialize. Others were unable to get a job in another country or to get visa permits, and still others felt some degree of loyalty to India.<sup>8</sup>

The general outlook of the sample population can be summarized as follows: They are optimistic about the long-range future of the country, pessimistic about the short-range—things will get worse before they get better and India is heading for a crisis in the next ten to fifteen years. About their personal future, there is uncertainty because they feel it is connected with the future developments of the country.

### *THE PLACE OF THE FOREIGN-EDUCATED IN AN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRY*

One of the paradoxes of India is the shortage of technical manpower and the incapacity of the country to make full use of the available trained technicians. Under what kind of conditions is it meaningful to say that there is a dearth or an abundance of foreign-educated personnel?

There is no simple answer to this question, although many have tried to offer simple answers. A common assumption made by some

<sup>8</sup>No data are available on the expatriates. Interviews with foreign-trained who were actively engaged in seeking a foreign position disclosed that most of them expected to advance high in another country, then return to India and, with the additional social capital of being successful, move into a high-ranking post within the country.

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Western writers is that any underdeveloped country is handicapped by a lack of technological leadership and that India is a specific instance of this. For example: "Finally, there is the serious shortage of executives, skilled administrators, scientists, technicians, doctors, nurses, and trained workers of every kind with which to contend."

Another assumption made by Westerners is that a practical way to aid an underdeveloped country is to train more of its people. These two assumptions have been shared to some extent by Indian authorities.<sup>9</sup> There are still others in India who claim:

Too many are going for technical education and coming up against an overflowing market.

We are the only country with the underemployment of technicians; the rate of absorption is only one fourth to one half of the foreign-trained.

The topic has come up again and again in India during the past few years.

### *Manpower and Employment*

There are no comprehensive, authentic figures to show the actual number of technically trained persons, how many of these are unemployed, and how many of them are employed in work for which they were not trained. No substantial data exist on what technical fields are without enough technicians. The able staff of the Bombay Public Service Commission compiled, at our request, a list of the main fields in which the government has had difficulty during the past three years in finding suitable candidates for certain positions. Some typical items from the list are: Agricultural Department: entomologist, bacteriologist, agricultural engineer, plant pathologist, horticulturist, agronomist, soil physicist and chemist, and research worker in virus diseases; Educational Department: professors and

<sup>9</sup>See *Report of the Scientific Manpower Committee* (New Delhi: Ministry of Education, 1949).

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lecturers in electrical engineering, mechanical engineering, civil engineering, telecommunications, and radio communications; Local Self-Government: town-planning expert.

A recent annual report of the Public Service Commission contains this reference:

Many students who were sent abroad by the Government for advanced training have appeared before the Commission on their return; few of them could be provided with posts in which their special training would be of particular use; some had to be appointed to posts for which they had no special training or aptitude; while others had to be released from their bonds to serve the Government and were unable to secure any employment befitting their special training.

We made an independent survey of the students sponsored by the Central and State Governments and in substance arrived at the same conclusions: 55 percent were not employed in the work for which they were sent for training. Moreover, we found instances in which additional persons were being sent for training in fields where the previously trained were still unemployed or were employed outside their field of specialization.

Among the many ramifications of the problem in matching manpower with jobs are the following:

**NEED FOR PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE.** There is some demand for candidates who have, in addition to academic qualifications and training, considerable practical experience. The young graduates with foreign qualifications seldom have the necessary experience to fit into the specialist appointments carrying substantial independent responsibility. As a result, the foreign-returned who are unwilling to take the junior posts, which, according to their standards, are too poorly paid and hence will jeopardize their future, are passed over in favor of persons with lower qualifications but with the requisite experience.

**SCARCITY OF CANDIDATES FOR SOME POSTS.** In some cases, a

candidate who satisfies the formal minimum requirements is selected only because no other candidate is available. As a result, the government department has to carry on with an officer who is barely equal to his responsibilities. The position has been filled, but there still remains a need for the right kind of technician. The foreign-trained may not be a person of talent in his technical subject, but he has been given a degree by a foreign institution in the hope that he can do some good for a backward country. On the other hand, the foreign-educated may have specialized in a field for which there is no vacant position and so remains involuntarily idle until an appropriate post is found or becomes a candidate for any post for which he can qualify irrespective of his advanced skills. Then, too, some individuals are appointed to positions in which there is little opportunity to use their technical training.

**LACK OF PLANNING AND COORDINATION.** There is little planning for long-range needs and almost no coordination between those who subsidize foreign education and those who hire the foreign-educated. It would be difficult to make even rough estimates of the likely requirements for trained technicians over the next decade, for the future development of the country cannot be predicted with any degree of certitude. Short-run forecasts might be made that would serve to guide persons studying abroad in the selection of their field, but this would require an organized labor market.

Within any specific organization, the cadres of trained technicians in demand usually are small. For example, not more than two or three officers are required by the Bombay Government at this time in the list of needs cited above. Once a post is filled, it may be fifteen or twenty years before a new appointment is needed. The requirements of the various states in India are not pooled; consequently, the total needs for each type of technician are unknown. Private enterprises have made no significant attempts to work out their requirements and build up a reserve of needed technical manpower. With but a few outstanding exceptions, decisions on which persons are to go abroad and what they are to study have not been connected with decisions on who is to be selected and assigned to specific tasks.



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UTILIZATION OF HUMAN RESOURCES. Perhaps a useful definition of an underdeveloped country would be one in which a society has yet to develop the means to utilize its human resources. It would be folly to blame any one segment of India for the weaknesses in the organization and administration of its technical manpower. The present state of affairs is the result of long-standing conditions. The underemployment and unemployment of the foreign-trained have been endemic in India; what was taken for granted when the British ruled India is now defined as a social problem. But in a country whose economy includes poverty among great masses of the people, the difficulties of the middle-class technician are of secondary importance. In this setting thoughts tend to turn round ways in which to stretch the available work so that everyone can have a job rather than on ways to ensure that every educated technician does what he is best fitted for. The American or Englishman who recalls the outlook in his own country during the depths of the depression can understand this attitude in present-day India. And, lest we grow unduly critical, we must remember that even in well-developed countries the effective utilization of trained manpower falls far short of the projected ideals.<sup>10</sup>

In the aftermath of subordination the country faces numerous reorganizational problems as the state is changed from a body to govern to one committed to the improvement of the levels of living of the masses. Most significant of all is the fact that there are a great many Indian leaders acutely aware of the problem, for out of their concern may emerge constructive programs for the greater use of the foreign-trained in building a modern nation.

REVISION OF EDUCATIONAL THEORY IN INDIA. A vast majority of the leaders interviewed (public authorities, educators, entrepreneurs, and political party heads) express a strong preference for having most Indians trained in advanced subjects at home. Although it is recognized that at present this is not feasible in all fields, the

<sup>10</sup>See National Manpower Council, *A Policy for Scientific and Professional Manpower* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953), for the American side of the problem.

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hope is commonly voiced that in the future India will be able to carry a larger share of its own needs for advanced education.

There has been a growth in the number of arts and science colleges and in technical and professional institutions offering advanced training. The applicants for admission exceed many times over the available space in many schools.<sup>11</sup> Though the ratio of university students to the total population is smaller than it is in the United States, the population pressure on the universities is greater, for, even more than in America, a higher education is deemed the gateway to middle-class positions and the higher degree a passport to better-paying jobs.

However, among persons both within and without present educational institutions, there is little enthusiasm for the present structures, the existing standards, or the facilities provided for practical training.<sup>12</sup> During the past decade numerous changes have been proposed, but few fundamental changes have been made. National planning at this stage gives precedence to other undertakings essential to the country's economic survival and development. The amount of public funds set aside for the strengthening of professional and technical training in Bombay State is, of necessity, extremely modest, and the schedule for future outlays calls for additional expenditures to be channelized into primary education and vocational schools below the college level. The old elite who endowed higher education have shrunk in number and are holding on to their inherited wealth; no tradition to contribute large sums for building up university institutions has emerged among the *nouveau riche*. Interviews with a cross section of men of great wealth in Bombay City revealed that

<sup>11</sup>The country in 1949-1950 had 617 arts and science colleges, in which were enrolled 293,694 students, and 273 professional and special colleges, which had a total enrollment of 58,875.

<sup>12</sup>See *The Report of the University Education Commission*, 3 vols. (New Delhi: Government of India Press, 1950-1951).

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they were critical of the present educational schemes, but admitted little sense of personal involvement in helping to overcome the conditions that draw their criticism.

Even though there are few facts to draw upon, there are intimations that the forces that caused the large-scale movement of students to the West in the past few years eventually may be checked. This does not mean that a collapse in the current trend is imminent, but rather that there may be a leveling off. The decisive events, however, will not occur within the field of education itself; they will take place in the economic and political arenas of India and of the world.

### AN OVER-ALL VIEW

The consequences of a foreign education for a society are determined as much by the paramount needs and interests of that society as they are by the knowledge brought back by the foreign-educated. In other words, the potential usefulness of the foreign-educated in India is governed largely by the roles that they are expected to perform and can perform in the society.

Before independence, Western-educated Indians filled two needs in India. The British needed personnel educated in their way of life and knowledgeable in Indian patterns to carry out British administration. In 1931, for example, in a country of over 400 million people, the British had only 12,000 Britishers at all levels of the Indian administration. The rest of the posts were filled by Indians. One reason why the transfer of power in 1947 proceeded with relative smoothness was the large number of trained and experienced Indian administrators who were able to assume administrative posts. Among these were many foreign-trained.

The second need which the foreign-educated filled was in the formulation and dissemination of values and ideologies. They provided part of the intellectual and political leadership required by a

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nation entering into the modern world and a people eagerly moving toward self-rule. Even those foreign-educated who were committed to the foreign regime and who acted as their administrative agents served symbolically as manifest proof of the capacity of Indians to direct their own affairs. And those opposed to foreign rule helped to formulate the doctrines that legitimized the struggle for independence and aided in the organization of the social movement that fought for freedom from alien control.

The condition of India since independence has changed the social functions of the foreign-educated from those of leaders of the political opposition to those of leaders in the technological field, and from those of persons carrying out the policies of an alien power to those of fashioners of policies. As we have seen, the basic outlook of the foreign-returned is essentially the same now as in the past—they continue to hold uppermost a faith in progress. But now they are looked to as persons who might help the country to meet its challenge to advance economically. The pre-eminent concern is with the building up of the country to assure a higher level of living for the masses and greater opportunities for the citizens.

It took half a century for India to reach the point where independence became a reality. The foreign-educated were only one of the many groups that helped to realize that end, and their contribution was significant because their efforts were a part of the wider forces in the country. It has been less than a decade since India has embarked on planning major changes in its economic order and participating as an independent nation in the world. The foreign-educated are but a fraction of the total engaged in economic planning and policy formation. Perhaps only after another generation or more will it be possible to know the long-range effects of the foreign educated on present efforts. As an isolated entity, the foreign-educated are insignificant; together with other groups they have the promise of converting India into one of the great nations of the modern world. If not that, at least they will be important in preserving a nucleus around which a different order of life might be

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formed, for, whatever else can be said about India, it is clear that the country has an immense pool of human talent and a people who are convinced that its resources must be used to design a better life than has been known in the past. The future is too uncertain to forecast what will come into being.



# 4

## Implications for International Understanding

**T**O APPRAISE the implications of a foreign education for international understanding, we take up, in succession, the meaning of the concept "understanding" as used in this analysis, the roles of a middleman who acts as an intermediary between societies, how the foreign-returned view the character of the British and American, and the consequences of a foreign education for cross-cultural relations.

### *THE NATURE OF INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING*

"Understanding" in its popular usages has many connotations. Probably everyone would say that in principle he is in favor of international understanding as a good thing, irrespective of its precise meaning. And, as in the case of most abstract principles around which popular interest has been mobilized, the ideas that become attached to it are not clearly stated.

*Three Usages of "Understanding"*

As applied to the cases under analysis, three general usages can be distinguished: factual knowledge, comprehension, and endorsement. Thus, we find that there is no intrinsic connection between knowledge of foreign ways and endorsement of them; that is, how well the foreign-returned are informed about the West has little cause-and-effect relationship with how much they approve of Western patterns and vice versa. For example, the current foreign policies of the United Kingdom and the United States are familiar to the entire sample population, and but few have much to say in their favor. Although being informed in itself does not assure good will or friendly feelings, it does dissolve prejudices derived from half-truths and provides a social context within which the individual events can be judged. Again, the informed do not necessarily comprehend the facts that they have in hand; many of the foreign-returned are well informed on the technological advancement and high standards of living in the two countries, and but very few have equal insight into the organizational talents that make these achievements possible.

Our premise is that from a long-range point of view understanding in the form of some comprehension of the reasons is more significant than factual knowledge and that, in turn, realistic knowledge is more important than approval. Perhaps this merely reflects a subjective bias for a rational basis in human relations. We think it is more than this. If the members of a society discern the factors that enter into the decisions and actions of another society, they can make sounder judgments; and if they are informed about the social facts, they are able to evaluate the fragments of news and conflicting propaganda that circulate in any nation about other nations.

*The Foreign-Educated Measured by These Norms*

If our logic is sound, we can conclude, from the evidence collected, that a moderate gain in international understanding has been



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achieved through foreign training. The foreign-returned have a rudimentary grasp of the social forces at work and the motives of men in the United Kingdom and the United States. They have at their command substantial factual knowledge concerning the national character of the people and their styles of life. And, finally, even though this factor is the least significant, they are more sympathetic to the West after having been in it than they were before, and they are more sympathetic than are their associates who have not been in the West. For example, the foreign-returned may agree with the opinions of their associates on Western forms of behavior, yet the opinions of the foreign-trained are more balanced. Feature stories of "panty raids" on American college campuses shock Indian sensibilities. The foreign-educated are also shocked but know that not all American students engage in this madness and that the peculiar incidents do not signify the normal level of college life. The foreign-returned are less susceptible to the practice of overgeneralizing and oversimplifying a part of the world that they know from direct observation. They have a new frame of reference for thinking—not just a new set of beliefs about the Western world.

#### *Understanding and Loyalty*

Does understanding of the West imply commitment to the political faiths that stem from the West? Does it mean loyalty to the country that helped the foreign-returned to get an education? We have no scales to measure exact answers to these questions. Our answer is largely an intuitive one. The answer is "no" if loyalty to the West is defined as unqualified support for the official policies of the British Foreign Office or the American State Department. We found among the foreign-returned a solid core of ideas on power in the world. Many of the foreign-educated, in common with other Indians, hold to beliefs of nationalism for India, anticolonialism for the world, and Indian neutralism in the world struggle for power. These ideas are paramount in their evaluation of the present-day issues in the world and in the determination of their stand on them. Most of them do not subscribe to the notion that the West always

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knows what is best for mankind or that Western men of power have such a monopoly over the fundamental values of civilized life that they alone can interpret them properly in various parts of the world.

The answer is "yes" if the question is put in terms of such underlying values of Western culture as human liberty, the spirit of freedom, the rule of law, and the dignity of man. These values absorbed from the West are asserted in the literature written by the foreign-returned and are incorporated in their philosophies of life; they were struggled for throughout the long night that lasted a hundred years.<sup>1</sup>

The life histories of our sample of foreign-educated reveal that in the past some did not care whether these values survived or not and that at present some do not care either. Then, too, there are those who wistfully long for a strong man, hope for a dictatorship by the proletariat, or regret the departure of the British. Some are not concerned with broader issues because they are worried about getting a decent job, about advancement to a first-class post, about making a name for themselves. In primacy of interest the foreign-returned are not all "political men," and no man has but one motive in life. Yet, we also find in the sampled population a majority who have faith in the worthwhileness of the individual, in the possibilities of social progress, and in freedom.

### *Levels of Understanding*

No one, to the best of our knowledge, has been bold enough to specify the norms of understanding, although everyone who writes about the subject cites the evils of misunderstanding. Is understand-

<sup>1</sup>For some examples in the field of literature, see *The Indian Literatures of Today* (Bombay: The International Book House Ltd., 1947); *Writers in Free India* (Bombay: P.E.N. All-India Centre, 1950); *Indian Congress for Cultural Freedom* (Bombay: The Kanada Press, 1951); and for classics, Gandhi's *Autobiography* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1948) and Nehru's *The Discovery of India* (New York: John Day, 1946).

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ing like morale—always in need of improvement? Is it like liberty—requiring eternal vigilance to preserve? Or is it an ethic which dictates striving to be in harmony with one's fellow men in a world community? We do not know.

**ETHNOCENTRISM.** We suggest, for the sake of this treatment, that the zero point of international understanding is found in strident ethnocentrism. The term "ethnocentrism" is used to refer to interlocking processes of thinking in which strange societies are both suspected of being dangerous and believed to be unnatural. Our definition is illustrated by two instances.

There appeared in our home-town newspaper a nationally syndicated cartoon entitled "Strange Neutrality." The figures presented are an Indian with Nehru stamped on his dhoti and, facing him, Uncle Sam. In the first scene, Nehru says to Uncle Sam, "Everyone knows that you always befriended India at every opportunity," to which Uncle Sam replies with a smile and the words, "Gee—thanks." In the next scene, Nehru is shown throwing a brick at Uncle Sam—the label on the brick is "Anti-U.S. Campaign"—and the "villain" Nehru now says, "So this only proves I don't let friendship sway my politics," while Uncle Sam tries to duck and exclaims a question mark.

On the other side is an editorial in one of the leading weekly magazines of India. The title is "Free Thinking," and the article is a criticism of a plea by an Indian educator for a two-way exchange of ideas between East and West. The editorial reads, in part, as follows:

Americans do continue to come in larger numbers than ever, but it seems a picnic to them, an excuse for photographing the Taj or taking tea with the Prime Minister unless they stay for a few months preparing questionnaires. . . . The analysis, wholly American, is reserved for American purposes, pigeon-holed in the State Department files. Knowledge to Americans is not a luxury as it is to us, and their programmes, even when carried

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out indirectly through foundations, are purposeful. They do not risk wasting their resources in wrong investments.

After expressing doubts that Americans really want to learn what India has to offer, the editorial continues by admonishing the educator to the effect that he is "living in a world of League of Nations ideas" and that "he may not feel encouraged if he discovers how many of his ideas have gained two-way circulation in this one-way world."

These two illustrations of ethnocentrism are distorted portrayals of outgroups derived from internal cultural premises rather than images corresponding to social realities.<sup>2</sup>

LEVELS OF UNDERSTANDING. The following categories serve to differentiate various levels of cross-cultural understanding. The minimum level is defined here as the absence of strident ethnocentrism—and but little more. A moderate level is characterized by the presence of both respect for the values of another society and a fair degree of awareness of the social patterns of that society.

The highest level may be stated as follows: It is the ability of the individual from one society to interpret realistically the reasons *why* the people in another society act in a specific way. The actions of the other society may be approved or disapproved, but the interpretations grow out of reality, not out of self-deceiving slogans and labels, overridealization, or indiscriminate deprecation. At its best,

<sup>2</sup>Without going too deeply into interpretation, we may say that the cartoon reflects the American feeling that people are "unnatural" who do not conform to the American version of how friendly peoples should act. For Americans, the person who lends a helping hand to someone in need can expect, in return, sincere appreciation expressed as friendly feelings and cooperation. In Indian culture, the donor is self-benefited by giving, and some people would even say that the recipients of aid are helping the giver to accomplish his own purposes. Most would say that there can be no "strings" attached to a genuine gift; if there are, then the relationship is one of bargaining, not of gift-giving. Indians are annoyed with Westerners who think that they can "buy" loyalty. The American cartoonist was exhibiting the distrust that Americans have for a people who have been aided but show no real gratitude.

The same type of distrust of the outgroup is contained in the Indian editorial. Americans, according to this theme, are either indifferent or calculating and so are untrustworthy.

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the interpreter perceives the backbone of a foreign society—its cultural traditions, the social, economic, and political forces that shape its decisions, the behavior common to its national character, a nation's anxieties and aspirations, and so on. Concretely, this would mean that an Indian analyzing the West would see beyond the external signs of materialism into the organizing ability that makes possible creative effort and the values that are achieved through material goods in their secular world; that a Westerner knowledgeable about India would perceive that spiritualism implies for the Indian a profound sense of history in which the individual is but a small part of the whole, not indifference to worldly goods and pecuniary interests.

IN WHAT LEVELS DO THE FOREIGN-EDUCATED FALL? On the basis of these levels, how do the foreign-returned measure up? Our findings are given in round numbers, for they are no more than rough assessments. According to our rating of the cases, 5 percent remain close to the zero point; specifically, they have gone through the process of merely changing from old to new types of ethnocentrism; that is, they have exchanged old stereotypes for new stereotypes; having fallen in love with the West, they have absorbed Western versions of Indian culture. Another 5 percent seem to be a bundle of self-contradictions; they simultaneously accept antithetical ideas or are confused as to what they think. About 30 percent have lost as an orientation much of their original ethnocentrism, as, for example, the author of this statement:

Before, I saw the British only as the ruling class. There I found Englishmen who were unlike them—they thought the way I did; they were sympathetic and trying to help. This lessened my bitterness and made me realize that there was more than one kind of Englishman. I realized that the whole world was one family and that national divisions are political rather than social.

Approximately 55 percent come close to the moderate level in

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that they tend to transcend cultural biases and grasp the basic social facts about another society. (We describe the content of their grasp in the next section of this chapter.) Nearly 5 percent correspond to the highest level:

I see the things that affect affairs in other countries—it is not so easy as some people think to make decisions in another country about foreign affairs. I try to understand the conditions that affect how Americans think and act and I point these out to others here so that they can better show the reasons for American policies.

It should be reiterated that these are estimates based on our screening of the cases and not on any validated scale.

### *INTERPRETATION OF THE CHARACTER OF THE BRITISH AND THE AMERICANS*

Our account is limited to the way in which the foreign-returned now appraise the British and the Americans; it concerns the way in which the persons sampled now describe the national character of the United Kingdom and the United States—not the concrete details observed while there.

When a person observes the members of another society, he usually makes comparisons with the individuals known to him in his own society, for his only available standards for the interpretation of what he views abroad are those of his own social world. Moreover, he tends to note the cultural contrasts rather than the similarities between the foreign land and the homeland. Social aspects of human behavior within institutions may be missed and the discrete forms in themselves used as a basis for interpretation, or, again, from a fragment of the whole, a model of social life may be imputed.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup>For example, the Western divorce system is often regarded as odd; yet most Indians fail to recognize the socially equivalent schemes for handling unsatisfactory husband-wife relationships in India.

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### *Social Strengths*

BASIS FOR JUDGING THE WEST. The sphere of foreign life most often seen by Indians—because most accessible—is the behavior of people in “public” situations.<sup>4</sup>

To understand what the Indians see and how they interpret it, it is necessary to have some background on “public” conduct in India. Outside the family and community, social interaction in India tends to occur in a kind of no man’s land. It is an area of social life in which meetings take place with “outsiders” who do not “count” because they are strangers, and in which the meetings are with persons who should be approached with caution and to whom one has no civic obligations. The climate of opinion in such meetings is analogous to that of the passengers on a New York subway. In towns and cities, where the middle classes live in a social world that puts “outsiders” into continuous juxtaposition, the traditional provincialism of these classes is disappearing to some extent. The system as a whole has protective functions, for it provides security against masses of people whose identities are unknown and whose motives for establishing a personal contact in a casual meeting may be suspect. Relatives are trustworthy, or, if not trustworthy, they can, at least, be held accountable for their acts; others are not predictable, nor can they always be held responsible for what they do. It is best to be cautious.

The close and heavy personal involvement with kin influences and limits the involvement not only with strangers but also with others in work relationships. On the job it is considered somewhat foolhardy to put too much faith in others—superiors, peers, inferiors—with whom one has no kinship or communal ties. There may be only a modicum of reward for craftsmanship and extra effort, for it is commonly believed that opportunities to advance go to favored relatives rather than to even the most competent or are dispensed on the

<sup>4</sup>Every society has phases of its social life that are treated as strictly private and others that are confined to the members of an ingroup. Thus, an Indian couple who lived for a year in an American middle-class suburb reported that they were impressed by the “fact” that their neighbors had no worries.

basis of seniority rather than ability. Some think that superiors appropriate all the credit for whatever is done by an inferior, that fellow workers must be watched lest they manipulate things to their own advantage, and that subordinates will deceive or shrug off responsibilities.

In Indian society, middle-class life moves at a less intense, less frenetic pace than in the West. There are variations, to be sure, but the average individual is not pushed quite so hard to get things done nor is he so overcommitted as the middle-class American. City life in Bombay, in London, and in Chicago is much the same; but still, there is some difference in the rhythm of life.

ESTEEMED BRITISH CHARACTERISTICS. To the foreign-educated, the dissimilarity between foreign public life and their own way of life is conspicuous. Certain aspects, however, seem attractive. A majority from the United Kingdom, for example, look with favor on four attributes of British character. The Indian designations for these are "personal integrity," "self-discipline," "reserved but helpful," and "thorough in whatever they do." The terms are applied to the manner in which the individual Englishman acts in nonfamily relationships—with strange Englishmen as well as with foreigners, on the job, in civic groups, and in public places where each man is anonymous and so thought to be free from "normal" social controls. Phrases used to portray integrity are "solid," "reliable," "steadfast," "fair," and "people you can count on." Self-discipline appears impressive as "control over one's emotions," "strength of purpose," and "perseverance"; it is doubly so in its respect for the opinions and rights of others, including the right to privacy. At first meeting, the Britisher seems, on the surface, entirely formal, taciturn, if not cold; but when the ice is broken, the Britisher reveals another self that is described as "good-hearted" and "hospitable." The foreign-returned heartily commend the earnestness with which the individual goes about his work and daily life (trying to get the most out of it), the methodical, orderly nature of most of the people, and the durability of the things they make.



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**ESTEEMED AMERICAN CHARACTERISTICS.** The chief American qualities approved by the foreign-returned parallel the British characterization to some degree; yet they have dissimilar referents in their concrete forms of behavior. Americans are known as individuals who are friendly, equalitarian, generous, and energetic. In any social situation, it is commonly said, the American is easy to meet, easy to mix with, and easy to get along with. He is characterized as pleasingly personable and informal and is said to have a sense of humor and to enjoy life. As witness the following: "Everyone tried to make us feel at home"; "They talk freely with anyone"; "Americans at once see you as a person—I was received with open arms everywhere."

A student who switched from a school in the United Kingdom to one in the United States says:

My first impression of the American was that he was boorish—I later saw this as informality. Having just come from England, the American's ways were very jarring to me. If I had come straight from India, this would not have left so heavy an imprint on me.

The equalitarian features that are most apparent to the foreign-returned cover a wide spectrum of human relations. One man tried to put it all together in his mind's eye as:

. . . freedom—which is only in America, pure and straightforward freedom—a regard for the other fellow—that is the real American life.

Another, in connection with employer-employee relations said:

Here in India the boss is entirely separated from the workers in the time he comes and leaves, in the place he works, in the facilities he has. There, they are much closer. There is no looking down at people who work. I saw people of high rank who work alongside others.

**OPEN-CLASS SYSTEM.** Most Indian students are captivated by the

opportunities of an open-class system which presents ample chances to advance on the basis of ability and work and has widespread sharing of a high standard of living.

People appreciate your skill there and you can move up from one job to another. They give the worker a chance. While employed there I was presented with a technical problem which I did not know how to handle and neither did my superior. Instead of just saying nothing could be done and passing it off to someone else, my boss said, "Take your time and figure out how to solve it." When I solved it, there was a pat on the back and I was given credit. Here, we run away from the challenge and there is no reward for taking the initiative. Here, you can die and no one cares. You have to figure out indirectly where you stand with the boss. There, young people are pushed up; here, young people are held down.

In contradistinction to the social distance in India that insulates the higher and lower classes and the economic chasm between class levels of living, the Indians see Americans openly mixing in public places as equals and being consumers of the same products. The foreign-returned remember that even working-class families often had cars, that people dressed alike, and that "everyone had access to food."<sup>5</sup>

The energetic American comes into full view at work, in play, on the streets, and at home.

There is ceaseless activity. The people rush about from morning to night. They have boundless energy and work themselves to a premature death.

They go at a fast pace, everyone is busy, the tempo of life is fast—what they call progress.

<sup>5</sup>The American symbols of class differences are not seen or are overshadowed by the fact that all classes "have so much," just as Westerners may not see the configuration of status differences within a non-Western society so overwhelming may be the mass poverty.

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### *Racial Prejudice—A Major Weakness*

The one outstanding social weakness of the West (the United Kingdom and the United States) that most of the foreign-returned mentioned is racial discrimination. Race relations serve the foreign-educated as an acid test of Western attitudes and values. Racial prejudice is a hypersensitive spot with Indians, whether they are objects of discrimination or only spectators of discrimination imposed on other colored peoples. Around this issue high interest can be alerted, lurking suspicions activated, and a whole train of antipathies concerning colonialism set under way.

CHANGED CONCEPTIONS OF RACIAL RELATIONS. Less than 5 percent of the sample studied were apathetic about the entire subject both before they went and after they returned—and their attitudes were little affected by their years abroad. For the rest, however, the foreign experience did change the conceptions of racial relations which they held. One conception which many held before going abroad but which tends to become obscure among the foreign-returned is the simple division of mankind into two opposing camps—white Westerners and the colored peoples of the rest of the world. Those who had been pleased with Japanese victories during World War II because they showed what a colored Asiatic nation could do and had interpreted the atomic bombing of Japan as an indication of the racial prejudice of the West and who have since studied abroad admit that they are now disinclined to view international issues in quite this way. They are as indignant as are others in India over any signs of Western imperialism and claims of white supremacy in Asia or Africa, but they do not state the issues exclusively along racial lines or put all the whites into one class.

Before, I thought that all white people were alike. I had very deep prejudices before about white skins. Now I feel that everyone is the same, that human beings are all the same.

I used to think that all Westerners were pro-British and that

all were different from us. I did not have any contacts with whites before. I learned about the differences between various Europeans, and that Americans are not the same as other whites. This left a very lasting impression on my mind.

THE COLOR BAR. The treatment accorded Indian students in the United Kingdom is used as one test of the Englishman's willingness to accept them as equals and not to relegate them to the status of inferiors. In the United States the treatment of the Indian student and of the American Negro is used as a yardstick to gauge the sincerity of American belief in democracy. Persons who were subjected to discrimination in Britain say that they were disappointed but not surprised; persons who had the same experience in America remark that they were not only disappointed but somewhat shocked.

The color bar in the United Kingdom before independence aroused resentment because it was regarded as another proof of the ranking of Indians as a subject race; since independence, it is viewed as an unfortunate flaw in British character that is offensive to a free people. For the earlier generation of students the color line in the United States was not a source of personal anxiety, but in connection with the Negro it was deemed analogous to British-Indian relations in India. A fairly typical notation appears in one of the many memoirs:

. . . the phenomenon of the white tyrannizing over the coloured is not peculiar to America. Britain treats us in much the same way as America treats its Negroes.<sup>6</sup>

Later students point to racial discrimination as an anachronism in a nation that is holding itself up to the world as the proponent of democracy.

Less than one fourth of the foreign-returned from either the

<sup>6</sup>Bharatan Kumarappa, *My Student Days in America* (Bombay: Padma Publications Ltd., 1945), p. 81.

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United Kingdom or the United States had actually been the personal object of discrimination in a specific instance that they could recall. More than three fourths had heard of Indian students who had been discriminated against. Any incident that involves one Indian becomes known to all; stories accumulate within Indian student groups abroad and are passed on to each incoming person. If the person was the only Indian in the American or British school, he was less preoccupied with the likelihood of discrimination against Indians; he did not have a constant stream of stories coming his way, and his exceptional status often meant that he was lionized as an "interesting" person.

The treatment of the Negro in America has far more impact on the Indian than the treatment accorded the Negro in Britain, even though racial prejudice against colored people is strong in both countries.<sup>7</sup> Many Indian students in America make special tours of the South to see how Negroes live, but none of the English sample reports making any special effort to meet Negro residents in Britain. Even those who do not make a trip to the Southern states in America acquire a set of attitudes from the northern inhabitants on conditions in the South:

I experienced no racial discrimination nor saw any in the U.S., but I believe there is a lot in the South and it is unjust.

SENSITIVITY TO COLOR BAR. We asked the foreign-returned who were the objects of racial discrimination or who had observed instances of it while they were overseas how they felt during these occurrences. The answers given add up to this proposition: if the discriminatory act was directed against the person, for most of them the occurrence was interpreted not as a threat to their egos but as insults to their status rights and a violation of their beliefs as to what is right. A negligible minority, who were otherwise psycholog-

<sup>7</sup>See K. L. Little, *Negroes in Britain* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1947); and Arnold Rose, *The Negro in America* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1948).

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ically vulnerable, were filled with anxieties in the face of discrimination. Indians, we think, have tough ego defenses; most regard the discriminator as despicable and the act as contemptible.<sup>8</sup> None felt self-defeated, and only a few were humiliated, hurt, or embarrassed. The bulk described their feelings by using the words "shocked," "mad," "angry," "resentful," and "indignant."

The British cases who experienced race discrimination said that the color bar was no worse in England than what they were used to in India before independence—and in some respects not so bad, or that the behavior of the Englishmen was pretty much what they expected from a people with the reputation for being prejudiced and thinking of themselves as the "master race." Many added that it was not easy to distinguish between British reserve with strangers and racial prejudice but that in most instances, once they got to know an Englishman well, they were accepted as equals. All but two reported no discrimination in the academic community, in their intellectual relations with professors and fellow students. A number recalled that their teachers took an extra amount of interest in them because they were Indians. Although away from the college they might encounter children who would yell, "Look, Mom, there is a black man," or "Look at that nigger," adults did not talk that way. The chief area of discrimination was in the matter of housing accommodations in which the obvious reason for rejection was race.

The American cases had more varied reactions. A few took a sympathetic or neutral point of view.

I knew the background of American actions and knew they were mixed up on this.

When I saw discrimination in the South, I knew these people did not know any better.

Every country has its own dirt. America has, just as we do,

<sup>8</sup>Only one person in the entire sample felt that those who complained about discrimination were themselves at fault and brought on prejudice by their own behavior. He happens to be a light-skinned man and acknowledges that he passed for white while in England.

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but we are interested in America not because of its dirt but for what it can teach us.

A sizable minority handled the situation by making it plain that they were Indians and not Negroes. For women this was not a problem, since their dress identified them as different; but the men had to speak out.

I worked out a way of being known as Indian so there would be no discrimination. I would always start a conversation with anyone by mentioning that I was from India.

I learned to say, everywhere I went, "I am from India and I would like . . . ." In some places they would say, "How can we believe you are from India?" But once they knew I was an Indian, they treated me all right. But it bothered me a great deal even then.

I found that if the people thought of us as being wealthy rajahs we were treated with great respect. I learned how to give this impression.

An equally large minority were satisfied to pass themselves off by mistaken identity as being American Indian, Spanish, Mexican-American, or some sort of uncertain European stock.<sup>9</sup> The majority grumbled, gossiped within their own Indian group, and acted opportunistically. Inside their ingroup they talked wryly about the contradictions between democracy and discrimination and how strange it was for an advanced country to have racial prejudices. A few fully identified with the Negro as being another oppressed people, sought out Negroes as friends, were keenly offended by discrimination against this ethnic group, and now say, "American democracy is for whites."

As in the case of the British-educated, the American-returned reported, with but three exceptions, that they were not discriminated

<sup>9</sup>The Negro is the only racial minority that most foreign-returned consider to be discriminated against; hence, the need to be distinguished from them.

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against on the campus and, far more than the British-educated, speak warmly of professors who took an exceptional interest in them and who went out of their way to be helpful.<sup>10</sup> Some said that they were vexed by ill-informed but well-intended teachers who were unwittingly prejudiced in their knowledge but not discriminating in their behavior.<sup>11</sup>

Housing, as in England, proved to be a pervasive problem in college towns, but with this difference—many more of the American-returned told of their deep gratitude for women who played the role of mother as well as housekeeper.<sup>12</sup> Jarring in America, but not in England, was the application to them of Jim Crow rules in eating places, barber shops, and other establishments. Social life is more open to Indian students in America than in England, and there is more social life on the American campus; as a result, there are more situations in which the Indian may feel discrimination.

AN OPPORTUNITY TO FEEL MORALLY SUPERIOR. The entire field of race relations affords the Indian student an opportunity to feel morally superior to the West. This is achieved, as it is so often in comparisons across cultures, by contrasting the ideals of one's own

<sup>10</sup>The teacher, or *guru*, to whom a student or disciple is attached is a very significant figure. The emotion-laden attitudes toward the teacher who played this role in America is attested in the deep feelings expressed.

<sup>11</sup>There is substantial and rather widespread criticism among leaders we interviewed in India over the academic discrimination in favor of Indian students. They are disturbed by the mediocre who are carried along in the fond illusion that, even though they are not bright, they will do some good for their people when they get back. They object, not to the good intentions, but to the consequences of these intentions for India. Similar complaints are not made about the English.

<sup>12</sup>The stories of generous acts and instances in which the Indian student was treated as an adopted son rather than as a roomer are almost too numerous to mention. Years after their return, these students kept in touch with such persons, and, in a few instances, brought them as guests to India with all expenses paid. It may be of interest to note that a sizable portion of our sample reported that their mothers had died when they were still children and that they were brought up by relatives. Some of them claim that the housekeepers in America were surrogate mothers. It should be noted further that for a stranger to take this role in India would be an unusual act; hence, it is the more appreciated by the Indian.



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society with the practices of another. Indians will conceal the fact that there is some degree of color prejudice in their own society (prejudice in favor of light skins), and any close observer of social life in India will find ample signs of intercommunity prejudices and discrimination.<sup>13</sup> The persons we asked to compare discrimination as practiced by Westerners with discrimination as practiced by Indians usually said that they were not comparable. A typical response is the following:

We don't have the educated-literate population that America has and the educated here are not expected to have communal-racial biases. We don't have the laws to enforce discrimination as America has in the South, so that you cannot compare the untouchables in India with the Negroes in the South. American political leaders have the means for getting rid of discrimination if they really wanted to get rid of it—there are some who do but many others who do not. The Americans are supposed to be an advanced people—and one measure of advancement is the treatment of races. We don't have the migration that America has, so we are still provincial-minded, but Americans who move about all of the time should not be provincial.

In criticism of the racial policies of the United States, the treatment of the Negro within the country is emphasized; in criticism of the racial policies of the United Kingdom; the international, rather than the domestic, racial policies are singled out.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup>To cite only a few illustrations: the Brahmans of Karnatak are being squeezed out of certain areas of public employment by the powerful Lingayats; the Patels of Gujarat look down on others as inferior; the Marwaris are the object of widespread hostility; the Hindu Mahasabha movement (now falling apart but still active in parts of Maharashtra) is anti-Muslim; even in the Indian Christian community caste distinctions are not entirely obliterated; the "untouchables" live in segregated sections of towns; and there are numerous people who have prejudices toward the whites.

<sup>14</sup>American foreign policies are criticized but not generally as a manifestation of racialism. The alleged declaration by a prominent American, "Let Asians fight Asians"—though an incorrect version of what was meant—was widely circulated in India as a sign of growing American racial bias in the world.

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BETTER PERSPECTIVE ON RACIAL RELATIONS. The foreign-returned have, more than non-foreign-educated, a greater sense of proportion concerning the actual race problem within the West. They may be scornful, but they are less prone to magnify. Whereas their associates regard as meaningless the American attempts to convince Indians that the condition of Negroes is improving in the United States (an historical perspective of another society is difficult to grasp) and are skeptical about assertions by Americans that racial discrimination is far from universal in the United States (the internal differentiations within a distant society are not easily envisioned), the American-educated, for the most part, understand the historical processes and the dimensions of the problem. They recall Americans who were totally free of racial prejudices, and they know about actual efforts to change discriminatory practices. They do not take much pleasure in "needling" foreign visitors in India with loaded questions about race discrimination.<sup>15</sup>

### *Contrasting Reactions to British and Americans*

About other social strengths and weaknesses of the West there is no consensus in the sample. There are, however, reactions common to the British-returned and others among the American-returned.

Indians educated in the United Kingdom are fairly sure that they know what the British are like, but those educated in the United States are not equally sure that they know "what makes Americans tick." One plausible, though untested, hypothesis is that the British culture may be more homogeneous than its American counterpart. As a result, perhaps the Indian has a more standardized set of expectations in the United Kingdom than in the United States. It may also be that the British are more consistent in their personal conduct

<sup>15</sup>We found that the same set of questions on this subject was asked of each new American visitor to the town we lived in and that, despite everything that was said, opinions were not changed. The question asking appears to have functions other than that of obtaining information. When we probed into this with persons we knew intimately, we were told that they were interested in watching how the foreigner handled this embarrassing issue.

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and that Americans are more flexible in varying types of situations.

Still another hypothesis can be inferred from the side comments of those who say, "The people are frank, but—." The "but" refers to the observation that the English are hard to make out *before* a friendship is established; the Americans, *after* friendship is established. The Indian student is puzzled by the British because "They want to take the initiative in deciding when to get acquainted and they resent inquisitiveness." Hence, the Indian does not know where he stands until the Englishman tells him. Once the Britisher has opened up, the Indian adds, "He says what he means and means what he says."

Friendships with Americans are established more quickly, and either person is free to take the initiative. Thus, the Indian has few fears that he will be snubbed. Although rarely rebuffed in starting a friendship, the Indian is not confident of the solidity of the bond:

You cannot assume that because Americans are friendly, you are fully accepted. You still have to watch what you say.

Americans do not give out what they feel; it is very hard to know what is in their minds.

Americans are free to talk but their free-ness is a mannerism and we Indians often misunderstood.

The American is described as smiling, polite, congenial, and careful not to offend. At first, Indians infer more from these cues than they are intended to convey in American culture. At home most of an Indian's friends are his relatives; to become friends with anyone outside this closed circle takes a certain amount of time while each tests the extent of the other's involvement. The foreign-returned were impressed by the rapidity with which strangers in America form friendships and were upset when the attachments often proved to be temporary. It causes some to say:

Americans are friendly, but are they really sincere?

Everyone is friendly—but it is hard to have a friend.

Eight out of ten of the foreign-returned have a favorable image of the British and American people as distinguished from their politi-

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cal and social patterns. Those back from the United Kingdom respect the British people, whether they like them or not, and those returned from the United States like the Americans, whether they respect them or not. Before going overseas, the students tended to be antagonistic toward the British and idealistic about the Americans. But after being in the West, approximately 80 percent revised their images, losing much of their antagonism toward the British and becoming more realistic about the Americans.

#### *Foreigners in Their Homeland and in India*

Three out of four of the foreign-returned now distinguish between the character of the foreigners in India, who are most often viewed adversely, and the character of the foreigners in their own homeland, who are seen most often in a favorable light.

The Britisher at home appears to them to be a more decent person.

There I became acquainted with Englishmen for the first time and I began to appreciate their character. I did not like them as rulers but there I found them most human. Every Englishman we saw here, we thought of as an aristocrat; there we saw the people in their natural environment and got to understand them.

The British here and there are totally different. I saw that they were good people, whereas before I hated the British. Here they are very obstinate, unbending, intolerable, aloof, arrogant, and pompous. There I met a different type—they were polite, they judged the individual as an individual and then formed an opinion, they were helpful. I am still no admirer of the British, but my attitude has mellowed and I respect them.

Here they always stayed above us in all positions, no matter how well qualified we were. They reserved the best for themselves. The English in England are different from those in India.

The same kind of generalization is made by all sections of the English-returned, although the manner in which it is expressed dif-

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fers. Emotional affects are strongest among the pre-independence group, which felt the full brunt of the disparity on their return and still vividly remember it. Some recalled the painful experience on the return voyage when foreigners who had been friendly at the start of the passage would gradually withdraw into their own group as the ship neared India. Others related incidents in which in India an Englishman with less education than they would humiliate them by the use of a nondescript phrase, such as "that's very interesting," or the significant gesture of cold silence.

During the period of British rule there were few Americans in India. During World War II American soldiers were stationed in India, and since the end of the war, large numbers of Americans have gone there. Consequently, to many of the American-trained, their first experiences with Americans in India came after their favorable experiences with Americans in the United States. The British-trained are astonished to find that the British in Britain are "human"; the American-trained are shocked to find that Americans in India are snobbish.

It is easier to get along with Americans in America than in India. In America there is little chance to show off, for everybody has so much; here the Americans show off. Here they tend to look down on Indians. They keep talking about the shortcomings of Indians or about how much progress India has made without knowing anything about it. Americans here lose much of their humility—they start feeling intellectually superior. Americans here are more authoritarian than in America. The combination of our character and climate makes Americans who are here for a long time dislike us. This cannot be helped; they fall into a rut.

Here the Americans are clannish. They restrict themselves to their own group. Americans at home are hospitable, but here they do not ask you to their house. I don't know if the government tells them not to or what, but they remain more to themselves. The British are the same way. I noticed this when I came back.

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The foreigners in India differ from those in their own country. At first, when they come they are sympathetic to Indians, but in time they become anti-Indian. Before I went away I thought that foreigners would not mix with us, but there I saw that they would. They forget their modesty and their notions of equality when they come here.<sup>16</sup>

The isolated escapades of odd Americans in India are widely talked about, their activities being told and retold, just as in the United States there are instances in which an American has an unfortunate experience with an Indian student and tells the story again and again, implying that "Indians are like that." Similarly, there are Indians who draw inferences about Americans from a single incident. Premature conclusions thus result in the stereotyping of a people.<sup>17</sup>

### *The "Mysterious" West*

There are some aspects of Western society that remain enigmatic to the foreign-returned. Family life is one of these. To some it appears disorganized; to others, democratic. The instabilities of the home, especially in America, seem odd in contrast with the stability of the Indian home. Whereas fellow feeling among co-workers is admired by the Indians, the slim ties among relatives are frowned upon. Some say:

<sup>16</sup>We are not concerned with the validity of these points but only with the objective presentation of a common point of view. Our own observations were that there are foreigners who do not fit the description, but, as in the case of any stereotype, these are looked upon as being "different."

<sup>17</sup>We heard many bizarre stories about Americans in India—some of them over and over. Among the incidents told us are the following: The G.I.'s "just couldn't understand why Indian women resisted them"; an American expert tried to persuade the skeptical village to adopt his proposals by pointing out that he was paid more than the Prime Minister of India; a lecturer declared that American schools had created a nation of geniuses; a tourist at a tea asked where she could go to see a "native"; and an American who was urged by an Indian passenger to drive his car slowly through a village lest he hit someone is alleged to have replied, "I have diplomatic immunity."

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The children are taught to be independent at a young age. This is a very good thing. But a person does not know the work his father is doing, where his sisters are, and whether or not his brothers will help him. It is a curse to be old. Old people get little respect, and they cannot maintain themselves.

There is no love in family life. I found that affection is only skin-deep there. Family life is superficial and artificial. In conflict, the family falls apart. The attachment to the family is not real. Every man and woman is interested in himself, not in parents, brothers and sisters, husbands and wives. No one gets a happy home life.

Some Indians have the opposite reaction:

There is more democracy in family life. The individual is treated on his own merits with due respect for his needs. The elders consult with the junior members and their advice or suggestions are really considered; here the elders make the decisions.

Materialism is another aspect of Western life that puzzles Indians. The preoccupation with economic gain, the identification of an individual with the work he does, the premium placed on having an ever-ascending level of living draw mixed responses—hostility and envy.

The average American lacks a sense of balance between materialism, on the one hand, and a faith or philosophy, on the other. He feels an urgent need of faith, but scientific development is far outstripping the developments in the spiritual world. It is difficult to maintain a mental balance on everyday life. His desire for progress lays too much emphasis on material achievement and comfort. He has not been able to adjust his community living with the material progress of his country. There is a general nervous condition. The interesting thing is that the people there are the first to admit all this.

They are constantly in a hurry to get done whatever they are

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doing and give very little thought to the meaning of what they are doing. They see only the material values in life—get more money, get more luxuries; little else matters as ends. People judge things by how much they cost—they overdo it. But it is an easy life—people are not worried about tomorrow.

Others are impressed by the spirit of “always trying to make improvements in efficiency and production” and say that spiritualism as a value is “humbug”—a fact which the foreigners already know and Indians should learn. The United States is more generally criticized for “overdoing” materialism than is the United Kingdom, and the main center of attack is not on the levels of living but on the discrepancy between the economy and other phases of culture. At the same time, the expansive spirit of American enterprise is thought superior to that of the British.

Each culture has its own premises by which a member's behavior is judged, that is, the areas in which he is supposed to exercise authority and responsibility on his own and the areas in which he is supposed to submerge himself to the group, the occasions on which he can compete or must cooperate, and so on. The stranger in a society has difficulty perceiving the premises, the behavior, and the relationship between the two.

America is based on egotism. For example, neighbors did not once pay any attention to the problems of others. In India we talk about our neighbor's troubles and are sincerely sorry. Everyone there is busy and minds his own business.

They work better as a group than as individuals, which is conducive to social welfare. They are willing to cooperate to bring credit to the group. This is the paradox of American individualism—they want to do things in a group way; one has a sense of achievement in a group and a sense of frustration as individuals. The American mind is confused.

In America, the individual thinks that by helping the individual he is helping the community.



THE HEART OF THE PROBLEM—POWER

There is probably no issue that divides Indians and Westerners more sharply than the conception of power. To understand this difference, some background is necessary. Any world power is bound to be viewed with suspicion by the members of a country that has been under colonial rule. Irrespective of what a great power does or fails to do, it is fair game for criticism. The power held by a dominant nation is believed to be an instrumentality used for its own interest and not on behalf of the peoples it dominates—and professions to the contrary are labeled false. This pattern of thought is imputed especially to the nations of the Western world, for it is well known that imperialism originated in the West and still permeates the foreign policies of the colonial powers in Asia and Africa.<sup>18</sup>

An additional factor that has a bearing on the way power is viewed is that those who do not have power are free to moralize about the behavior of those who have power. Just as Americans were scornful of the power politics engaged in by the European countries when America was not a major world power, so, today, Indians are severely critical of the machinations of the powerful nations. The very difference in the standards of conduct between those who have power and those who have not serves as an equalizer, for it enables the smaller power to feel that although it has less power, it has higher morality, in effect saying, "They have power, but see how they use it."

Most Indians that we met who were not foreign-returned regard the foreigners and their power as synonymous, but most of the foreign-returned view them as separate entities.

<sup>18</sup>The dynamic imperialism of the Communist powers is still little known to most of the Indians we met. The fact that Soviet Russia has become a colonial power in Europe does not have the same emotional significance as colonialism in the non-Western world. When the claim is made that the Western bloc is striving to protect the lesser powers of Asia from Communist imperialism, it is discounted as sheer propaganda, for the audience "knows" that those with power are motivated not by pure altruism but by self-interest.

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I was anti-British before I went. I hated the system, but there I learned not to hate the Englishmen. Before, I had no personal contacts with Englishmen; I saw them only as collectors and policemen. I now detach the English people and imperialism. I greatly admire the British character but not their power: this was a new thought for me.

I have been to America and I do not think the American people want to dominate the world. India is used as a tool for American politics, but I know that American intentions are good.

### *Consensus on International Issues*

The opinions of the foreign-returned on domestic issues vary widely, but on international issues there is great accord, the only difference among them being in the amount of personal interest taken in the problems of power in the world today. These opinions may be summed up as follows:<sup>19</sup>

AN INDEPENDENT INDIA. India will remain an independent nation, notwithstanding what happens in the outside world. Independence at present means two interconnected things to the foreign-returned—freedom of decision in internal affairs and freedom of decision in external affairs. Infringement of India's self-governing

<sup>19</sup>The reader is advised to exercise some caution in accepting our findings on this subject, for the following reasons. First, the topic is a tension-laden one, just as the international crisis is for people in the West. The interviewee-interviewer relationship was affected by the fact that we were foreigners and Americans. We tried to act as neutral scientists, ready to listen sympathetically to any point of view. We are not convinced that this self-definition of the situation was so regarded by the informants, some of whom appeared reluctant to state fully their views lest they give offense, whereas others seemed happy to have a target on which to discharge their pent-up feelings. Second, we did not survey the internal power structures within which foreign-policy decisions are framed. Our sample includes men with high-level influence, but it does not include foreign policy makers in the administration. There is a real difference between the private opinions held by leaders in a society and the behavior of men engaged in making policy decisions within a power structure. Third, owing to the sensitivity of the whole subject and the desire to avoid the impression that we might be doing a politically inspired study under a cover story of social research, we confined the survey to attitudes toward the United Kingdom and United States rather than discussing the power blocs.

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rights in either sphere is conceived to be an equal menace to the nation's independence. Although a threat to one implies a threat to the other, the people interviewed said they felt more confident of India's capacity to determine its inner affairs and more worried about India's ability to keep free of the conflicts between the world powers. These views are expressed, in part, by the following typical comments:

It would be hard for anyone outside to rule us. There is no danger of India being taken over again—not in the present kind of world. No nation could take over India and maintain their control if they did. You could not rule Japan, you found out, and you could not rule India. The Communists might try to take over, but they would find it hard to rule us. The atmosphere would not be congenial for them. It is hard to say if India can stay neutral—I don't think anyone can say. If war comes, things will be different. If others (the United States and England) will allow us to stay out, we shall.

There is nothing to fear from Chinese Communism; the Americans have no interest in governing India; and I am not fearful of British imperialism. There is nothing to fear from the foreigners. We can stand on our own. We want to be neutral. If the foreigners want to give aid to India for their own national security, that is fine, and we shall thank them for it, but we have no obligations to them.

ASSESSMENT OF BRITISH AND AMERICAN POLICIES. Great Britain and the United States are thought to be alike in that both are democratic in their domestic affairs and autocratic in international affairs. They are thought to be alike also in that they have no interest in governing India now and no desire to dominate the world.

Higher standards are used in judging the actions of the United States as a world power than are applied to Great Britain, and currently America's use of her power is more severely criticized than Britain's use of hers. In the arena of world politics American practices are said to be motivated by a combination of good will and ulterior interests, and British practices, largely by self-interest. British

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policies are described as being consistent in aims and, though expedient, congruent in various places with its over-all objectives. American political leaders are viewed as well intended but inept, whereas British men of power are thought of as clever hands in the game of power politics, but not altruistic. The present image of American power is that it is big and expanding, British power that it is still big but is contracting.

These views are reflected in part in the following comments:

I have a deep affection for America. If America only kept aloof instead of helping those colonial and reactionary powers, it would not be suspect here. Americans are misjudged here mainly because they help the British and French in their colonial empires, and for the support they give to the Chiang Kai-shek regime. They have been too much a part of British policies. America should stand forthright for what it believes; it should act independently of the British and with courage.

Americans are sadly lacking in experience, but once the Americans understand, they will know better than the British how to treat the people in Asia and Africa.

Americans want to be helpful. They are unavoidably imperialistic, but they are different from the colonial powers. In foreign policies Americans have made many blunders, and America has lost many of its friends because of its blunders. American policies are made too fast, decisions are made without mature consideration.

Resentment runs high when Westerners define world problems as being, above all else, the need to stop Communism, and there is further resentment when Westerners declare that they are providing the only real leadership or that they are carrying the burdens of the world. There is annoyance with the British who claim that they govern others in order to help them and annoyance with the Americans who proclaim that they are acting on behalf of mankind.

They talk about freedom, democracy, and liberty. What Asia needs is food. They talk about Communism and totalitarianism

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—what the people of Asia want is a more decent way of life, and the people will resort to any means to achieve it.

Americans think the world is on their back and that they are bearing all of the troubles of the world. I heard many talk there as though if it were not for America, the conditions of the world would be ever so much worse. The Americans are good people and Point Four is excellent, but that is not enough. I wonder if America is losing its faith in humanity. Americans still have respect for individuals, but are they equally sincere about their feelings of good will to mankind?

The structuring of attitudes toward the United Kingdom and United States as world powers currently differs somewhat in the minds of the sample population: Opinions are crystallized on the British and protean on America; feelings are more intense about American actions than about British actions in the world. In these respects, the foreign-returned resemble others around them; when Great Britain is discussed, the non-foreign-returned with whom we talked evinced fairly stable attitudes and low emotional affects; when the United States is brought into the conversation, there appear a degree of ambivalence and high emotional affects. As aptly put by a person who is well informed on public opinion in India:

Sentiment here toward the United States has gone up and down like a yoyo since India became independent.<sup>20</sup>

**BRITISH AND AMERICAN POWER CONTRASTED.** There is some contrast between those returned from the United Kingdom and those from the United States in their reactions to the two powers. The British-trained are not personally upset when the British use their power in a way that is disapproved, whereas the American-trained tend to feel personally worried when the Americans so act. It is not that the American-educated feel more loyal to the United States than the British-educated feel to the United Kingdom, but rather that there is a greater sense of violation of what the country

<sup>20</sup>Robert Trumbull, *New York Times*, Dec. 16, 1953.

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stands for in the world. An American vote, for example, in support of the colonial powers in the United Nations elicits a sharper response than a similar British vote.

Several theories can be suggested to explain these differences, although, obviously, they are only speculative. One such theory can be stated in an historical perspective. The British are well known as a world power, and the Americans as a new world power are less well known. Thus, the actions of the former can be anticipated and those of the latter cannot. A second theory may be that there are higher expectations for the United States than for the United Kingdom; when the gap between the expected and the actual occurrence is greater, reactions are stronger. At the present point in time, a third theory suggests, Americans appear to be more aggressive than the British in touching on the vital interests of India.

A fourth theory holds that both Americans and Indians are disposed to moralize international issues, whereas the British today do not so freely invoke moral principles to legitimize what they are doing in the world. When people base their actions on high moral grounds rather than on self-interest, there is the likelihood of evoking sharper reactions. A fifth theory is that both America and India share the common value of the right of men to be free. Consequently, when America acts in concert with colonial powers, a feeling of betrayal is aroused in Indians; but when Great Britain acts as a colonial power, her action is expected. Finally, a sixth theory suggests that since independence the Indian image of the British is that of an "underdog" for whom one can extend a degree of sympathy; whereas the present image of America is that of a "topdog" which needs no charitable thoughts.

### THE ROLES OF A MIDDLEMAN IN A CROSS-CULTURAL RELATIONSHIP

The foreign-returned comprise only one group of the many intermediaries between India and the West. Numerous Indians each

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year make trips to the United Kingdom or the United States for business purposes, on holidays, to attend conferences, or as official representatives of the country. Several thousand Englishmen and Americans work, visit on good-will tours, serve as teachers and technical advisors, or are posted on diplomatic assignments in India. There are expatriates from India in the West and from the West in India. A continuous flow of news and views is transmitted by means of radio, press, and motion pictures.

The roles of the foreign-returned differ from all of these in several respects. As students they come into direct contact with Western schools that are imbued with the spirit and methods of modern science. Others who go overseas from India are exposed to the scientific spirit, but in different capacities; their formal function is something other than that of learning. (What visitors learn informally awaits research.) As we have seen in Chapter II, few of the foreign-educated become professional scientists, but they do in substance bring back a new outlook on life.

After their return, the informal visitors to the West usually move in social circles that include the social elite who can afford vacations abroad, the business tycoons, and the high-ranking officials who already are aware of Westerners. Most of the foreigners in India do not mix freely with the people; there is no official segregation but, rather, a tendency among people to prefer their own kind in daily association. Expatriates, including those who have married Indians, often form separate groups of their own or are on the fringe of most local groups.

In contrast to these other intermediaries, the foreign-educated typically interact with a large range of people, most of whom know no foreigners personally. They have the potential, therefore, of acting as interpreters of the West on a face-to-face basis with a wide range of Indian groups. They might, in theory, mediate between India and the West in two ways: First, as foreign-returned, they could relate to others in India their impressions of the West; and second, as persons who are in touch with the West, they could convey Indian opinions to people there. In actual practice, the first is the more

significant role, for it occurs in the full context of social life and continues throughout a lifetime, whereas the second is more tenuous and impermanent.

*Influential Factors*

The foreign-returned as a middleman in Indian social groups has an impact on the group members in proportion to his social capital—his status, family standing, wealth, education, age, and so on. The lowest-valued social capital that the foreign-returned have is the prestige of being foreign-educated. The fact that they can say, "I was there," gives a certain margin of credibility to what they say about the United Kingdom or the United States, but the extent to which their opinions are accepted depends upon their social position and their manner of expression.

Certain forms of personal behavior are a social liability. Those few who patently play the foreigners' game, acting as their instrumentality, or who, overly identified with the United Kingdom and the United States, zealously defend Western ways and are offensive in viewing local ways are mistrusted. The individuals who are rated as influential in a social group are not blatant cultural hucksters. This personal equation may seem amorphous; nevertheless, it is concretely attested in the social circles we studied.

A comparison of two cases may help to clarify this generalization. One is rated uninfluential, though well known, in his city, and the other is rated influential even by his enemies in the city where he resides. Uninfluential Shri A originates from one of the leading families of a small-sized city. He inherited a large fortune and has the reputation of belonging to the elite class. He was trained about fifteen years ago in one of the top American universities, from which he earned a doctorate, is the author of more than a hundred articles of high caliber (according to an expert in the same field), is obviously a man of intelligence. Seemingly, therefore, he has all the qualities that might make him influential in his area of work.

Despite all of these resources to draw upon, A reports that, outside



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of honorary work, he has never held a responsible post and that the proposals he has made over the years have not been adopted—until some one else sponsored them. A review of the schemes reveals that, as far as an outsider could tell, they were technically sound and in the public interest. A's articles and speeches, however, are filled with references to how things are done in America and why the existing customs in India are outmoded. He describes himself as a man who is impatient with old-fashioned ideas, who enjoys a clean public fight on issues, and who would rather withdraw than compromise on what he believes is right and must ultimately be adopted. Informants in the community say that they are rather fond of A, feel a little sorry for him, but do not take him seriously.

Almost a diametric opposite is Shri B, who was born into a poor cultivator's family and spent some time as a boy in a home for poor children. He, too, studied in a large American university and returned with a doctorate a year or so after A did. Although B started with hardly any financial support, he is now a moderately wealthy man who owns his own business, part of a bank, and other properties. Today, B is ranked in the upper-middle class. Like A, this person also has a reputation of favoring the American way of doing things and has applied many features learned in America to his business. Several of these features were criticized by rival owners, who have since copied them after they proved successful. B is also outspoken, and takes pride in being known as honest. For example, he says, in an area where provincialism has at times been powerful, "I am against all forms of communalism and linguistic states." He has been at odds with the national party in power, the heads of which, as government officeholders, boycott his product, and he is a political independent.

Despite this, B has had a constructive, impressive impact on the city in which he resides and on the surrounding hinterland. In addition to a variety of good works done anonymously (which we were told about by many persons), he has been a leader in public opinion. As put by one informant:

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He has created a following. He is like a stream of clear water in a muddy pool. People want hope and good ways of doing things and he has given both. He has been a good guide, a good leader, broadening our views, breaking down the barriers. People know that he is not self-seeking.

To cite only one specific achievement: B organized a civic movement on a nonpartisan basis which in the last city election succeeded in defeating the local political machine despite its backing by the leading party in India. The idea caught on and has now been duplicated in several neighboring cities. What makes B different from A is not background, ability, or courage—but his approach to culture. He does not demand an all-or-none acceptance of modern practices, and he works within the cultural framework of the people. American ways are presented not to shame the people but to show what can be accomplished. Today, he is one of the moving spirits in the whole area in which he resides.

When the sample cases are sorted out into uninfluential and influential (by a combination of self-rating and rating by associates), a large percentage of the persons with low influence are found to have comparable social disabilities. In their own words they explain:

People say I have become Americanized. They criticize me at home for saying so much is good in America. They say that I say everything in America is good.

Not many people ask me about America and when they do, I often turn them off with a joke, for I know that most people really do not want to know. They want to hear more about what they already believe.

There is not much interest here. People don't draw you out, and when I tell them, I find that they don't listen. I have had arguments with some, but they don't believe what I say. Even when I try to explain the system, it doesn't help; so I just keep quiet.

My ideas were too advanced for the people I had to live with

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here. I do not criticize the people, I merely make a statement, "This is the way it is done there." They usually are unconvinced.

A Protestant-trained Indian says:

When I came home, I tried to get the children to realize what Christ could mean for them and I would ask the children, "What have you done to show your faith in Christ today?" After a while they began to avoid me and so I gave it up. I thought that I could introduce real Christianity, but I can't.

The pile of influential cases contain these representative comments:

Only if I find that they ask and really want to know do I talk about America. If I talk about good living there, they would be frustrated; so I talk tactfully. I do not say America is better but point out different things I saw there which I think could be used here. The whole community was proud when I gave a speech—the whole community turned out to hear.

There is no label of "foreign" on what I do and say. It is not considered good form to raise the subject on one's own. That is thought of as showing off. I have found that one should never say anything about experiences there unless people ask you. I wait for the people to turn to me for advice.

I talk about England to many, even to illiterate people, both in my family and outside. But I adjust what I say so that it can be understood. When a topic comes up, I do not make the point that I know about it directly. I do not introduce directly that I have been to England. When we talk about things, I mention that this is how it is done in England and point out the problems they face in doing it in England. I never say outright, "This is how *we* do it in England." I correct local ideas informally, never in lectures or talks. This way, people ask you and you can fit the conversation to their interests and background. People do ask, and so you can build up to the point.

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Influential individuals, however, have more than communication skills. They deftly, and often unself-consciously, earn a reputation of being just like everyone else in a group. A fine compliment bestowed on a foreign-returned is that "he is just like he was before." The term most frequently used by their associates to describe them was sincere, a quality respected in Indian culture and unexpected in the foreign-returned of whom the image is one of being high-hat and supercilious. Most of the highly rated influentials responded to our question "What kind of adjustment did you make when you got back?" by saying, in one way or another, "I tried to fit in." A typical reply is the following:

At first when I came back, I did not like to kiss the hands of the old. I decided that they expected it of me and if I did it, I would not lose my conscience. I tried to observe the customs so they would know I am one of them. They say now, "He has kept up the old customs, he is one among us." This makes them confident in what I try to do. They honor and respect me.

Independent checks confirmed his self-image.

Influential individuals are located in all age groups; the mature, however, have a larger amount of social capital in a society that respects men and women in the advanced years of life. The young are influential with their immediate friends, whereas the older persons may wield influence throughout the community.

### *The Influenced*

The people who are ready to be influenced can be classified into members of primary groups and members of secondary groups. Primary types of groups are those in which the foreign-returned have more or less continuous face-to-face contacts with relatives, persons belonging to the same subcommunity, a few friends, students, and, in some cases, an occasional subordinate or fellow worker on the job. In a sense they are captive audiences who are obliged at least to

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pretend to listen when the foreign-returned talk. Word-of-mouth communication in India, as in most societies, is often believed more readily than word transmitted by the printed page. And, of course, in those social groups with no literacy, it is the main source of all information about the outside world.

Provided that the foreign-returned is respected within his social circle, he has free access to all the informal discussions that take place and as a participant can introduce his ideas about the foreigners in a manner to fit the going conversation. Probably the greatest impact of the foreign-returned is not during the initial period of story telling in the first flush of being back home but in the intermittent and unorganized sessions that take place subsequently. When we tried to pin down the persons being interviewed as to exactly how often and under what circumstances they brought up ideas learned abroad, hardly any could say; yet, many said they were sure that their ideas slipped into the discussion. The relatives and friends of the foreign-returned replied in the same fashion.

The secondary types of group relationships include formal speeches before various types of meetings and casual conversations with persons who strike up a discussion with the foreign-returned. The round of lectures usually occurs during the first months back home and is more common in villages and towns than in the big cities. In the metropolis the foreign-returned just back from the United Kingdom or the United States is nothing special. From the few lectures we heard, we have the impression that, like most lectures, they were entertaining to most of the audience and only occasionally would influence the ideas held by the audience.

The influence of the foreign-returned in the market place of ideas appears to be changing. The educated middle classes in most non-Western societies, although numerically small, often provide the intellectual leadership of modern-oriented social movements. Usually the masses are both illiterate and preoccupied with survival, and the old aristocracy may be social prisoners of the foreign rulers and may have vested interests in the maintenance of ancestral customs. Typi-

cally, within the educated classes there are divisions between those who enter into the foreign administration and those who either form an opposition or compromise with the foreigners enough to earn a livelihood in their profession. The history of the foreign-educated in India conforms pretty much to this general pattern.

Once a society that has been under foreign rule gains its freedom, there is a realignment within the educated segment. Some who were in the opposition become administrators; others, after the long struggle, relax; and still others drift about in search of a fresh approach to life. At the time of our study, we found the intellectuals of Western India in such states of mind. Some who had stayed outside the British regime are now busily engaged in playing the roles of officials. Others who had entered the British service continue in similar or better positions in the present government. Many others have withdrawn from the arena of public affairs; of these, some are disillusioned with the aftermath of freedom, and others are quiescent because they can find no group with which to align themselves.

There are few outlets for the reform-minded among the recently educated students. Instead of grappling with big ideas, they were busying themselves with daily duties. Persons who used to go out and make speeches to villagers and townspeople now spend their time at home and on their jobs. Young intellectuals are preoccupied with establishing themselves in their professions. A section of society that was once reputed to be made up of agitators seems to be composed now of fairly tame men. Everyone agrees that the intellectuals are not very active or important now. When we asked in the various towns who are the influential intellectuals, the people would name some who were dead or who used to be active, but they could name few who are active leaders at the present time.

Within our sample, as we pointed out in Chapter III, the intelligentsia are as interested in political affairs as they ever were, but they are inactive. Hence, we are forced to conclude that at this point in Indian history, the main influence of the foreign-returned is in their primary groups rather than on the ideologies of the larger society.

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Within the primary groups the questions people ask differ for the British- and American-returned. Persons back from Britain seldom are asked about the Englishman and his ways—most people assume they know them. Subjects of interest are predominantly how the person got along in England and how he would advise someone who was thinking of going there (clothing, food, housing, school to attend). American-educated also get these queries; however, the questions most frequently asked them concern the character of Americans, race relations, and family life. The following are examples of questions asked about America:

What kind of people are there in America?  
Are they like the people in the movies?  
What is the average American like?  
Are Americans sincere?  
What do they know about the world?

Concerning race relations they ask:

What about the treatment of the Negro?  
Why do they discriminate against the Negro?  
How did they treat you?

In the area of family life they ask:

Are they happy there?  
What about divorce?  
How are their morals?

Some want to know all the details of the household and the status of women. A smattering of questions are raised concerning the standard of living, honesty and corruption in government, sex behavior of young men and women, and education. Students ask what education and students are like in the United States; workers want to know about equality between classes; the politically minded (currently) about McCarthyism; and cinema fans ask about Hollywood.

As the reader can see, these are not penetrating questions. But it must be remembered that most human beings in any society are not

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philosophers or social scientists; they are curious to get a notion as to what people and social life are like in an unknown part of the world.<sup>21</sup>

How do the foreign-returned handle these questions? Unanticipated was our first finding. Most of those who were highly critical of Americans and their ways while in the United States become defenders of America in India. With a change in the audience, from persons who know much about America (and so can see the disapproved patterns in a total social context) to persons who have little knowledge about America and have peculiar notions without any context to explain them, a majority shift from expressing disapproval about American ways to giving the reasons why Americans act the way they do. Those who frowned on sexual freedom and divorce try to tell people that Americans do have moral codes; the much criticized materialism is interpreted in terms of how well off the common worker is and of the living standard among the masses. However, when the foreign-returned are among themselves or in a more sophisticated group, they open up and talk freely about the strengths and weaknesses of American life.

A second observation, which was first made by the foreign-trained, is that most persons do not want to hear all the details of their experience. We ourselves have had similar experiences in America since our return. People who learn that we are just back from India ask a few questions and then become increasingly restless if we go beyond the broad outlines or give answers contrary to their preconceived notions. Most people are so preoccupied with the pressures of their own lives that they are little interested in what seems to them to be irrelevancies.

Third, during the first weeks home, question asking is part of the rites of passage back into the group. Questions are conversational pieces used to indicate interest in welcoming the returned student,

<sup>21</sup>In a study made of the questions that Americans ask Indian students about India, the same type of generality and the same stereotypes are in evidence. See Prabha G. Asar, "Images of India and America Held by Students from India at Michigan State College," M.A. thesis, 1952.



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and the returned persons are disappointed if they are not questioned. Often the audience is eager to find out whether the returned is going to be one of them again. One evidence of this is that the person does not play up the foreign experience but does play up Indian ideas. Just as Americans want to hear their travelers to foreign lands say that they are glad to be home although they enjoyed their foreign experience, so, too, Indians want to hear their foreign-returned express appreciation for home life, no matter how much they may have admired the foreign country. They also want the foreign-returned to reassure them that their culture has many good features too.

#### *Continuing Communication with the West*

Communication between the foreign-returned and the West takes four specific forms: correspondence with friends in the United Kingdom or the United States; continuing membership in professional societies that they joined while in the West; reading of journals and books published abroad; and personal contacts with Westerners in India. We cannot say what impact these various forms of communication have on Westerners, but we can say that their total effect on Indians is amorphous in most cases.

The overseas correspondence is usually kept active during about the first year after return. Thereafter, there is a decline in the frequency of exchange and in the number of correspondents in the United Kingdom or the United States. One crude index of the decline is the number of Christmas cards sent out. Among those back only a year, one sent out 265 cards to friends and another sent 350; whereas those who have been back in India for fifteen years sent, on the average, less than five for the Christmas of 1953. Typical is the case of the man who sent sixty cards to America the first year that he was back and five cards five years later. Persons who had a close friendship with a professor, a family with whom they lived, or a schoolmate in the same profession continue to correspond the longest. The content of the mail has little to do with public affairs

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and social life in India; in most instances it concerns only personal news.

Approximately 10 percent keep up their membership in professional societies such as the Institute of Electrical Engineers, Society of Automotive Engineers, American Chemical Society, the Institute of Personnel Management of London, Society for Travel Agents, and the American Economics Association. For most, the cost of membership is too high to sustain over the years, and the interest shifts to professional societies in India.

The foreign-returned read regularly a far wider range of Western periodicals than do their associates. In addition to the technical journals put out by professional associations abroad, there are subscribers to the *New Yorker*, *Fortune*, *Reader's Digest*, *Scientific Monthly*, *Time*, *Life*, *National Geographic*, *Women and Home*, *English Aviation*, and so on. British newspapers are common, but American newspapers are rarely read. Books are in great demand, but owing to the pressures on moderate incomes and to the dollar shortage, only a few can afford to buy many books.<sup>22</sup> The gifts of book collections by the American government to various institutions are held in high regard by foreign-educated teachers, who are confident that, by reason of their general knowledge of the West, they can discount any propaganda that may be planted in the books, and welcome them as additions to the meager supply that is available.

The Voice of America and comparable means of communication are ignored by all but 7 percent of the cases. The general opinion is that they service other publics than the foreign-educated. Many say that they try to attend lectures given by foreigners in their towns. These often are given in schools and at Rotary—the latter an organization with status that attracts in particular the more successful of the foreign-returned. At these lectures they are curious to see how the foreigner presents his country and handles the "hot" questions that are asked by the audience. None reports any change in opinion

<sup>22</sup>In contrast to Western published books, which are expensive, the Communist-subsidized books, which include not only political tracts but also the writings of great literary figures in Russia, and pictorial magazines on "New China" are cheap.

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as a result of hearing a lecture; some, however, pick up items that they then use in their own conversation. Sometimes the foreigner nettles his audience by making statements that are shallow (for example, lavish praise of India without knowing much about it), silly (for example, that capitalism is a term invented by the Communists to embarrass the West), or misleading (for example, a speaker sent out by the foreign administration claiming to speak on his own authority). When that occurs, word is passed around among friends to help correct the impressions. On the other hand, effective foreign speakers are welcomed, and attempts are made to have them meet with special groups.

Only a small minority of the foreign-educated have regular and close social relations with foreigners in India, and this minority is located mainly in large cities and in the upper-middle classes. The few who make it a point to meet any foreigners who visit their towns are often persons "on the make" or marginal men in their own society. The most successful foreign-educated are not aggressive in seeking out the foreigners, but they are hospitable to the foreigners who seek them out.

Except for those foreign-educated who are employed by foreign firms or a foreign government, there is little day-to-day communication between foreigners and the foreign-educated. Some private organizations that send Indians abroad for professional study hire them after their return to work alongside foreigners and pursue a policy of having the Indian gradually take over the entire work. Inasmuch as Bombay State does not have a policy of assigning the foreign-trained technicians to work alongside foreign experts, and inasmuch as the foreign technical-aid administrations have not hired foreign-educated in their present programs, the collaboration between the two is nominal. Occasionally the foreign technician and the foreign-educated may on their own visit with each other.

As the reader has no doubt concluded by now, the volume of continuing communication with the West is slim. For the most part, the foreign-returned interpret the West on the basis of their experiences abroad and are little affected by the scanty, intermittent

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materials that flow to them from the West or by subsequent contacts with Westerners in India. Yet, most of them have an abiding interest in the West and express a desire to go back there again for a revisit in order to gain fresh inspiration or to catch up with recent developments in their fields of interest. Except for the wealthy and those few sent by a government (Indian, United Kingdom, United States) or by business firms on special missions, the foreign-educated have not had the opportunity to make another trip to the United Kingdom or United States.

### *THE CONSEQUENCES OF FOREIGN EDUCATION FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING*

There may be some truth in the often-voiced declaration that foreign education is a gateway to international understanding and that international understanding is the key to world peace—but not much. Any possibility in a world of crises tends to become overloaded with man's hopes and, correspondingly, can cause an overreaction of disappointment if it does not work out as expected.

Drawing up a balance sheet to itemize the assets of a foreign education for international understanding necessitates a realistic appraisal rather than a cynical repudiation of lofty ideals. Many items lend themselves more to speculation than to factual enumeration in the highly complex area of cross-cultural relations. The best that can be done is to make explicit the basis for the "educated guesses."

#### *Knowledge and Political Amity*

We must raise the large question as to the function of ideas in an interdependent world. Knowledge about another society may help those who make decisions in a related society understand how to deal with others, but this alone does not assure amity. The Indian leadership before independence (including the foreign-returned)

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had substantial knowledge about the British; it would be a *non sequitur* to conclude that from this understanding came a sense of fellowship between the rulers and the ruled. Most of the foreign-returned from America may believe that the United States is not imperialistic, as are the colonial nations of Europe, but this, too, does not stop them from being critical of American military aid for Pakistan. Any world power is bound to draw fire from people who have been exploited by a world power for a century and who are watchful lest exploitation occur again in any form. Aside from the lesson of history, the very nature of power relations makes the powerful the object of concern by the less powerful, for decisions by the powerful may be fateful.

As the student of power and bureaucracy knows, ideas (whether true or false) are only one element that enters into the decision process. The actions of intersecting societies are determined by a variety of internal and external forces.

The exchange of knowledge between societies is animated by a demand that grows out of practical need. When India was under foreign rule, its people had to learn the ways of the British in order to deal with the governors, and British authorities who were responsible for policy making and administration required knowledge of Indian conditions, even though most of the British people did not need to know much about Indian customs. It was not until the United States became a global power, however, that the social facts about places like India seemed vital to the United States leadership; at the same time, India, as it has become a nation fashioning its own foreign policy, has had to learn more about the United States.

It is, therefore, not surprising to find that the foreign-returned are amazed that the people of Britain and America know so little of Indian affairs and that they ask elementary questions or that those who have been in both countries report the British to be slightly better informed.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup>Britishers who had relatives in India or who had served in India were said to be more familiar with life in India.

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The ordinary Englishman's ignorance of India was colossal; he made polite conversation but had no genuine understanding.

I found the Americans' knowledge of the world to be little—they were shockingly ignorant of India. One man asked me where Bombay was. Everyone here knows where New York is. Their interest in India was very superficial.

An American assumption is that if Indians understood America they would realize that American values are not inimical to India's interests and that American foreign policies are idealistic in conception. On the other hand, an Indian assumption is that if America understood Asia and the real issues, American policies would be better. One Indian student who is friendly to the United States said:

The Americans judge the distance they can go in Asia by how far their bombers can fly rather than by how far they can carry the people.

And an Indian who had never been more than a few miles away from his village said to us in parting:

We want you to know there that we too are human beings.

The foreign-returned express similar views:

The Americans could use more foresight and insight into Asia. They lost China and they could lose India. The Americans mean well, but they have little knowledge of the world. They are intolerant of those whose opinions differ from their own and tend to call them Communists. Now, I am not a Communist and I oppose Communism, but we cannot say that anything which differs from the American way is communistic. The Americans have gone out of their way to help us, but they are unpopular here largely through their own naïveté.

Perhaps it would not be unreasonable to observe that both parties

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are eager to be understood and that currently both may be more eager to be understood than to understand.<sup>24</sup>

### *Understanding and an Interdependent World*

In an increasingly interdependent world in which India is a co-ordinate rather than a subordinate power, it seems highly probable that mutual understanding will, in the long run, increase. It will do so in the "one world" that is coming into being, not because that would be nice but because it will be necessary. It seems appropriate to suggest in this context that the foreign-returned, along with other segments, have a function. Their role is epitomized in the ancestral discovery that applies to the present, "Cast thy bread upon the waters for thou shall find it after many days."

Quite apart from world politics, there is the equally crucial sphere that involves the exchange of social and technological knowledge between societies. With but few—and outstanding—exceptions, the foreign-returned do not play an important part in the momentous political decisions of India; they do have a part in the importation of the knowledge developed in the West. Whether the technologist is pro-British or anti-British, pro-American or anti-American, has little correlation with the use of Western techniques in India.<sup>25</sup> The Indian leaders with whom we talked tell us that although India may be withdrawn from the political blocs, she has no intention of becoming insulated from the main streams of thought and technologi-

<sup>24</sup>The press in both countries mirrors this outlook. As the reader probably knows, there has been a flurry of editorials in the American newspapers and newsweeklies on the need of Indian leadership to understand what one called "the facts of life." The Indian version reflects the themes of one-way traffic on a two-way street and of the ignorance of the Americans. (The critical run stories to show up the extent of ignorance, and the friendly tend to defend by pointing out that Americans are learning what the score is and that many earnestly want to learn.)

<sup>25</sup>See Chapter III for a discussion of factors that are correlated with use of Western training.

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cal advancement in the West. It is in this area that they believe the foreign-returned will make a major contribution.

Perhaps mankind may be caught in another dark age of world strife and recurring crises. In such a world, the foreign-returned may join with other enlightened men to form a rearguard to defend the great ideas of human civilization and a vanguard of the next civilization that may come into being.



# 5

## Recommendations

### METHODOLOGICAL NOTES

**T**HIS DISCUSSION is chiefly prefatory notes to a much-needed examination of evaluation studies that extend into several cultures and are intended to produce recommendations for those engaged in the study of social action. For the purpose of the treatment that follows, the four most salient aspects of such studies are considered because of their bearing on the recommendations that stem from our study.

#### *Problems of Research*

A study that has its inception in one society and is carried out in another and about which it is assumed that the conclusions reached will be useful to the members of both societies raises certain research problems. In addition to the risk of being culture-bound by unconscious ethnocentrism, there is the risk of failing to discern the questions of concern to the people of each society. Although we were sensitive to the existence of interests of both societies and tried to probe for them, only a selected number of them could be incorporated in the final research design.

For example, we were unable to study thoroughly the often-voiced opinion in India that personal ability frequently counts for less than influence and pull. We can only state our impressions derived from observations of organizations and from the statements made by our cases; we are conscious of the fact that our information may be to some degree in error. As a result, we do not feel competent to make any recommendations on this issue, even though it looms as vital in the minds of many Indians.

Again, many Americans who deal with Indian students express concern over the relationships between Indian men and American women. This, too, falls outside the province of our research. To consider adequately this specific subject would require studies of the reasons why Indian males are interested in experimenting with Western forms of courtship, why so often the American women who are interested in Indian males stem from recent immigrant families or from culturally marginal groups, and how American spouses adjust to life in India. We have confined our recommendations to items about which we feel more confident by reason of the data collected.<sup>1</sup>

### *Recognition of Existing Conditions*

A knowledge of the causes of existing unsatisfactory conditions does not *ipso facto* uncover remedies for those conditions. Therefore, we need to differentiate between our empirical findings and our opinions as to what might be a solution to various types of known difficulties. To make estimates of the alternatives to the existing conditions requires appraisal of the social costs and consequences of each possibility. The shortcomings of the present practices and programs are visible; the potential weaknesses of new schemes are unknown.

Thus, some leaders in India said that they would prefer to have Western teachers come to India rather than to have Indian students

<sup>1</sup>Richard D. Lambert has made a parallel study of Indian student life in an American college and community. His findings will shed light on some aspects that we do not feel competent to assess.

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go to the West for training. There is merit in this point of view, since a larger number of Indians could be directly benefited and the instruction might be more closely related to conditions in India. But it must be acknowledged that the prospects of persuading the ablest scholars in the West to give up their present institutional attachments and research facilities to pioneer in India are limited. From experience we know that the best minds of a highly developed country are not always free to volunteer their services to an underdeveloped country for a sufficiently long period to have an enduring effect. Furthermore, the Western professors would have to operate within Indian academic norms, and there are already many complaints about these.

Although it is true that there would be benefits from this reversal of practice, there would also be losses if the Indian students had no opportunities to live, work, and associate with people in another society. It might narrow the social horizon for India and reduce the opportunities for the West to show concretely the character of its societies—a matter of no small concern to the powers of the free world. It does not follow that we oppose the sending of Western teachers to India; we are merely citing the unanticipated disadvantages of what appears to some to be a simple solution.

Our recommendations are qualified by explanations of our line of reasoning. Our hope is that the reader, apprized of the data we have gathered, may independently appraise the proposals we are making. These recommendations should not be construed as being scientifically proved—they are no more than our personal judgments.

### *Scope of the Study*

By its very nature, a scientific study is limited in scope; yet the user of the findings cannot always afford to confine his application of the results to the specific group surveyed. The social sciences caution against overgeneralizing from one small sample to whole populations. However, the demands on those who must make decisions about student-exchange programs require them to deal with the

entire population involved. Furthermore, it is doubtful whether all the facts needed to make intelligent decisions can be collected before the decisions must be made, and in an age of continuing social change the facts assembled tend to have a high rate of obsolescence.

Our study has been limited to a sample in Bombay State. We know that, whether we like it or not, the results of this study will be applied to occupations other than those covered (for example, medicine and law) and to Indians from other States—perhaps even to the nationals of other foreign countries. Ideally, we should have cross-checked our main findings in all segments of India, but this was not feasible. All that we are able to say is that our recommendations should be reconsidered in relation to the character of the individual who studies in the West and to point out that our generalizations about conditions in Bombay do not hold true for all of that state or for other states. Finally, it must be reiterated that what we found in the year of our field work may have ceased to exist in another decade or more.

Remaining to be done are scientific studies on how to close the gap between the methods of social science and the users of scientific knowledge, for we do not know in what ways the distribution of scientific findings may be improved.

### *Values in Evaluation Research*

The values in evaluation research are an old scientific problem in a new setting. The aims of diverse groups interested in the exchange of students at this point in history are sometimes divergent but are not totally incompatible. Had this study been made before independence, there would have been in evidence some value conflicts between Indian and British expectations. Even now, there are divisions of opinion over public policies in connection with foreign education, and obviously there are differences in the priorities placed on various aims. In so far as possible, we have tried to outline the interests at stake in each line of action and its possible consequences,

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leaving it to those who may read this report to decide the action that coincides with their own purposes. We believe that those within a society who are empowered to decide which ends are emphasized must do so, and that it is the responsibility of the social scientist to suggest the means for achieving the desired goals.

Within this framework, we make one value judgment, namely, that any recommendation we make should be practically and realistically possible within existing conditions. To depart from this norm would have caused us to use the model of a perfect society that is without friction or loss in effort—and no society of that sort exists. Or again, instead of suggesting actions that would require resources known to be unavailable or urging actions that are already known to be impracticable under current circumstances, we have confined ourselves to a fairly modest set of recommendations.

The rest of this chapter consists of a series of recommendations organized around four themes: the selection of Indian students for foreign training, the treatment of Indian students in America, the utilization of the foreign-trained in India, and general policies on foreign education.

These recommendations are meant to serve as constructive suggestions to different groups. Proposals are included that may be useful to Americans—to policy makers in governmental agencies and private foundations, college and university administrators, professors and foreign-student advisers, and members of any community who are in touch with Indian students. Other proposals are submitted for consideration by people in India—government officials, educators, persons in charge of foreign university information bureaus, the managers of foreign and Indian-owned firms, and civic leaders.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>We know too little about British educational institutions, administrative practices in the government, and community life to make specific suggestions of a practical nature for interested British groups. Some pertinent materials can be found in Mary Trevelyan, *The England Returned Man* (London: Student Christian Movement House, 1938), and A. T. Carey, "London Landladies and Coloured Students," *The Fortnightly*, Oct., 1953. In addition, the current studies being made by Richard A. Izard and A. T. Carey will be relevant.

Each recommendation is accompanied by an explanation so that the reader can know our reasons for making it.

*Two Basic Propositions*

Before proceeding to analyze what might be done to improve the effectiveness of a foreign education, we deem it important to insert two notes of caution. The first of these notes is an obvious fact that needs to be reasserted lest it be lost sight of. It is this: any generalization that is intended to depict the characteristics of certain kinds of people has to be counterbalanced by a recognition that each person is unique. Although the evidence indicates that Indian students share common social patterns, our data also show that they differ widely among themselves. In short, features singled out as being most typical should not be used to stereotype Indians who study overseas. Some are gifted and others are mediocre; some are brilliant intellectuals and others are of average or below-average intelligence; some are earnest students and others are playboys; some come from villages and others from cities; some are from large families and some are orphans. We are sure of one thing, however, in the proposals that follow: *each recommendation has to be modified in its application to an individual.*

The second note of caution is a related point: no program should be so restrictive as to prevent Indian students from acting outside the established program. For instance, we would argue against any plan that limited those allowed to study abroad only to persons picked by some organization. All selection schemes are fallible, and no one has yet devised a perfect means for screening the best men and women. We offer guidelines that can aid people who are passing on applicants, but these are based on estimates of the probabilities of successful fulfillment of given ends rather than on the prediction of an individual's behavior. As a general point, we urge that the Indian students not be made into a captive group who become social prisoners of a system originally designed to facilitate a foreign education.

SELECTION OF INDIAN STUDENTS FOR  
FOREIGN TRAINING

As a fundamental basis for deciding which individuals should be aided in securing an education in the West, we recommend that the objectives of a foreign education be appraised as specifically as possible. All too often the ends of a foreign education have been viewed as a single package, and this has led to the selection of candidates who, it is hoped, can fulfill a number of objectives simultaneously. In reality, different ends are achievable by the selection of different types of persons.

The issue is one of discerning which ends have higher priorities, so that selection policies will lead to picking individuals who have the best chances of realizing the desired objectives. Put in another way, any scheme may have a series of objectives; if each individual is expected to fulfill simultaneously all the ends, the scheme will score fewer successes than if different individuals are selected for each of the objectives. Hence, we pose alternatives for those engaged in the selection of Indian students for foreign study.

*Transfer of Western Technology, Methods, and Skills*

If transfer of Western technical knowledge to India is the objective, individuals must be selected who not only are capable of absorbing the education of the West but who also will have the opportunity to apply their knowledge after their return. No matter how highly trained the individual may be, he cannot use his Western-derived knowledge in isolation; there must be sustaining social structures within which he can fit. There are, then, a number of subsidiary propositions.

THE OLDER AND ALREADY-EMPLOYED. If *immediate* transfer of Western technology and methods is the objective, it can best be accomplished by the selection of older persons who already occupy

positions in India that allow them to innovate. In this connection it is important to assess power positions in terms of Indian norms rather than in terms of projected American norms. For example, within American bureaucratic structures, authority is delegated to a lower level in the hierarchy than is permitted in Indian bureaucratic structures. This is true of government, education and business. The Indian technician at the intermediate level exercises a lesser degree of control than does his American counterpart. It may be necessary, therefore, to select for foreign training Indians who have a higher rank than their American counterparts in order to make certain that these persons can introduce new practices soon after their return.

Unfortunately, there is a comparatively short span of years during which the individual technician or professional administrator in an Indian bureaucracy has any influence on the operations of an organization. Little is gained in choosing a person close to the retirement age, which in the Indian administrative services is fifty-five. As a case in point, the second-ranking man in a department was brought to the United States at the age of fifty-three to observe American methods that could be introduced into his department. After his return he informed us that there was hardly anything he could do in the brief time remaining to him in office.

THE ORGANIZATION WITH MANY FOREIGN-TRAINED. An organization that has, as its nucleus, foreign-trained personnel is especially receptive to contributions that a foreign-returned can make. The transfer of skills and techniques can be facilitated by adding strength to selection policies that favor building up the foreign-trained within an organization. If a new organization is being set up, the team plan is exceptionally successful. In this the key staff members are sent as a group for foreign training; each team member is trained to fit a specific assignment, and, upon return, the group is placed in charge of developing the organization. If, however, the organization is already established, rarely can all members be sent overseas at the same time. In such cases the stagger system, whereby successive members



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are sent for foreign training in fields selected according to organizational needs, will augment the contributions of the foreign-trained individual.

A staff composed of many foreign-trained has the potential of mutual support among its members when they attempt to introduce modern practices. Group leadership that is foreign-trained is less likely to resist changes proposed by the staff and is more likely to be aware of the potentialities of such changes. The foreign-trained leader is less likely than a non-foreign-trained leader to thwart his subordinates out of unconscious feelings of inferiority to them and, instead, to actively draw upon their collective advice in the development of improvement plans. When associates and assistants are foreign-trained, there is a better chance that innovations advanced by any member of the group will gain support and that the associates will have the technical skills to accomplish what is intended. There is no guarantee, of course, that the outcome will be favorable in every organization that has a foreign-trained staff, but the probability of success under these conditions is great.

We feel, therefore, that selection policies that lead to the concentration of foreign-trained within a specific organization will lead to more effective transfer of foreign skills than selection patterns which result in isolated foreign-returned in scattered organizations.

**REFRESHER PROGRAMS.** A program designed to provide a refresher type of study abroad for older persons who have prior foreign training would facilitate the transfer of Western technology, skills, and methods. Refresher kinds of foreign experience can capitalize on the original benefits gained from foreign education. The foreign-returned has a double advantage on subsequent visits to the West. First, since he is familiar with Western conditions, he can learn a great deal in a short time without having to work out problems of personal adjustment to an alien culture; second, since he is familiar with his own society's and organization's needs, he can select from the West what is most applicable to his situation.

The Indian who has studied overseas gradually loses touch with

continuing developments in his own field. With the passage of time, the perspective acquired on his work and the larger world is blurred. This change is especially noticeable in the individual who is isolated because he is the only foreign-educated in a small organization or because he lives outside the big cities and is cut off from the main-streams of modern thought. Those who have had an additional period of study abroad after they have been back ten to fifteen years report that their refresher training was most useful.

An ideal arrangement would allow the individual freedom to plan a trip to fit his own professional or technical interests. Less rewarding are the tightly scheduled trips that are planned for a group with a common general area of interest—for example, social work. Under such an arrangement the individual members are less likely to get what they want than on an individually planned trip. The actual period abroad can be flexible, for some, who have heavy responsibilities, cannot take a prolonged leave of absence nor is it necessary. Many report that in six to nine months they can get most of what they want to know. Preferably, such refresher training should be divorced from taking degrees, even though higher degrees carry considerable prestige in India.

At present, most grants-in-aid programs exclude from candidacy persons who have previously studied in England or America. We believe that there are real and immediate gains in allowing them to be eligible to go again and to be revitalized at the stage of their careers when they are in the best position to make a contribution.

**THE YOUNG.** If the objective of selection is not the immediate transfer of Western technology and skills but the *long-range effect* on India, then there is a fair prospect of an ultimate gain by selecting young people. In Indian institutions a young employee rarely has the influence or the authority to make important innovations. There is always the possibility, though, that in the future he may move up into the higher ranks and eventually occupy a position that allows him to introduce what he has learned abroad years before. The case may be cited of a man who, upon his return, worked for nine years in an

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industry under his father. At the end of that time, he established his own factory and has made technological innovations in keeping with what he had learned in the United States.

Selection policies that give preference to young adults for foreign education could be implemented by three schemes which would help the prospective candidates derive more benefit from the foreign experience and make greater contributions upon their return.

First, Indian leaders endorse plans that would select young people who have had some practical experience in their own country prior to study abroad. They maintain that the individual who has worked in India even for a short time knows more concretely what he wants to learn that is applicable to Indian conditions than does the inexperienced college graduate. Our observations confirm this point of view. We find that persons with work experience in India before study abroad, even when the work experience was somewhat unrelated to their field of study, are more realistic in deciding upon the training they need and are more prone to return with practical ideas that are applicable to the Indian situation. There is, however, an important exception. Those who are interested in the sciences seldom can acquire firsthand experience in India without a higher degree which qualifies them to work in their chosen field. These young scholars usually can take full advantage of the scientific training offered in Western institutions and suffer less handicap in their scientific work after their return.

Second, if the inexperienced young are selected, their eventual contribution would be enhanced if they were given vocational counseling and guidance. In Indian terms this means not only appraising the type of work for which they might be personally suited but also assessing the chances for potential employment in India. Most of the foreign-returned in our sample chose their field of study abroad by accident; they had little knowledge of their own aptitudes or of the labor market for the educated in the field of their choice. Some picked a field because a relative or friend had done well in it; others, because their father talked with someone who had a notion as to

what was best to study; and still others, simply because they knew people who were going to study in that particular field. Interviews with college students in India who were planning to go abroad for further training disclosed them to be equally ill-informed in making their decisions.

A small start has been made in the development of vocational counseling in India; by its expansion there would be a lessening of accidental—and often unfortunate—choices. It would reduce the number of cases who, after they go abroad, find they are incapable of, or uninterested in, working in a given field. Individuals whose families have made great sacrifices to send them abroad are fearful of giving up a program lest they be forced to return home as failures. Even those with ample financial resources have a hard time; some drift from school to school in search of one in which they can “get by.”

Because of the unpredictable character of the Indian economy, not all of the unsuitably trained can be eliminated. Selection of students based on the predictions of future needs will inevitably have some losses if the predictions do not become eventualities. However, certain glaring inappropriateness of training can be eliminated. Vocational guidance can better and more realistically be done in India before the start of a foreign education than in America where so little is known about Indian character and future employment possibilities.

Third, where foreign groups are establishing grants-in-aid in certain fields, some attempt should be made to find out the extent to which there is a need for workers in that field. A review of the present grants-in-aid programs reveals that in some instances subjects are chosen in terms of Western ideas of what India needs rather than in terms of what India feels her requirements to be. Any offer of financial aid for foreign study will attract large numbers of applicants. Indian students are eager to get a foreign education, and many will change their fields in order to qualify. An engineer may apply for a grant in the field of education; an individual interested in agriculture may try to obtain a grant in business administration; and so on. There is no way to eliminate the inevitable opportunism

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in a society with limited opportunities and masses of ambitious young people. But it is possible to set up grants-in-aid that will not channelize people into fields for which there is no employment in India and will direct them into fields for which there is a place.

**BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY.** As an impetus to the development of technological leadership along modern lines in India, the promising young relatives in kin groups which dominate Indian industry and business should be encouraged to get foreign training. By guiding more of these persons into study abroad, there might be formed a nucleus of forward-looking leaders in the sphere of private enterprise. They would have an impact soon after their return, inasmuch as most of them are put into supervisory positions. In such positions many have under them foreign-trained technicians whose contributions would be enhanced if the person "on top" had some appreciation of modern managerial practices. There is also a long-range aspect, for these young relatives eventually assume roles as heads of businesses and industries and can be effective in introducing modern, responsible industrial policies. The ideology of private enterprise is currently one of the weak spots in the building of a progressive economy within India.

### *Character Development*

If the main purpose is thought to be the development of character and a broad outlook on life among potential social leaders in India, then preference should be accorded to the young.

The facts gathered show that individuals in late adolescence and early adulthood change most in their basic habits and are still able to make the transition back to India without suffering personal disorganization. Children have trouble in readjusting to India, and the older age groups are less prone to change in their underlying characteristics. The hazard of personal maladjustment is less pronounced for the very immature if the person belongs to a Westernized family, inherits wealth, and resides in a metropolis. In this social setting, he can fit into patterns that correspond somewhat to patterns learned from prolonged living in the West. More critical, however, are cases

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in which the immature are sent for a foreign education in the hope that the change may solve a personality problem. The incidence of "cures" by this form of therapy is low, and the individual may return home with even more involved personality difficulties. We would endorse the selection of the semimature as the best risk because they can slough off the surface Western ways and still preserve a modern orientation to life.

### *Future Leadership*

Future leadership in the social arenas of politics, intellectual affairs, and civic life in India is not predictable. If the purpose of foreign education is to affect the future social leaders, then it is preferable to choose men and women who come from a wide range of castes, classes, and regions and who have a variety of interests because of the present uncertainty in determining from what segments of the nation future leadership will be drawn. More especially, we advise that any selection should include people from groups that are currently outside the power structures, as well as those who now have power, for their education in the present may serve to prepare them for responsible public leadership in the years ahead. Obviously, any program that has this objective will have numerically a high rate of casualties, but the relatively few successes may have an impact on India far in excess of their numbers.

### *International Understanding*

No rigorous screening is necessary to select a specific type of person if the objective is to increase the number of persons who have better international understanding. Most students educated in America get a fair grasp of the American way of life, and their knowledge is somewhat diffused to others in their social circles back home. It would be unrealistic to expect the returned student to put loyalty to another country above loyalty to his own, and such a per-

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son will not be an influential if he is American-acting in Indian society. An American-educated who overidentified with the United States would be as little respected in his social group as would be an American schooled in India who insisted upon sitting on the floor and eating with his fingers in an American group. To be blatantly pro-American in international relations, irrespective of Indian interests in world affairs, would be resented as much in India as to be pro-Nazi because of a pre-war German education would be resented in the United States. The understanding of America by the American-educated does not mean that they will be uncritical of American institutions and foreign policies; but it does mean that they will be better informed and more objective in their evaluation of issues.

No evidence was uncovered to support the contention in some quarters that Indians who are highly critical of the West before study abroad are least likely to change their opinions while in the West. Nearly everyone who studies abroad undergoes a change in his perspective. Hence, we fail to find any reason to argue in favor of selection of any special type of person in order to add to international understanding.

Should the purpose be to ensure immediate diffusion of opinions by those who study abroad in a way that will have widespread influence, then it will be necessary to select men and women who have influence. That can be done, but it is a form of counsel which would require careful field surveys to assess the influential and the influenced—a rather formidable undertaking. On the other hand, should the purpose be the building up of a general fund of good-will, whether or not it has any consequences in high policy decisions, then any person qualified for a foreign education is suitable for selection.

### *Screening of Applicants*

Provided that the policy makers of a scheme have set forth their objectives and know the types of individual that they want in order

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to fulfill those ends, we do have some suggestions with respect to the implementation of selection policies.

For Westerners who have to pass on Indian applicants and who are unfamiliar with Indian educational standards, the following information may be of interest.<sup>3</sup> College and university students in India are ranked academically according to the scores they earn in an annual examination. There are three passing ranks: first, second, and third class. The examinations in each subject for students attending various colleges within the jurisdiction of a university are standardized. The norms for scoring the uniform tests vary, however, from university to university, so that the ratings do not represent the same level of achievement for all Indian students. Success in the examinations depends primarily on the ability of the student to memorize and put down facts. Thus, the class rating of a student reflects factual knowledge rather than originality or independent judgment.

Our sample cases show that Indians in the second- and third-class ratings are not necessarily inferior to those who have been ranked in the first class. Indeed, many below the first class in Indian ranks proved to be excellent students in Western schools, and, after their return to India, have done as well as have many in the first class. There are individuals who do not excel in rote memory but who are nonetheless creative and intelligent. It does not follow that the Indian records are useless, but rather that they should be cross-checked by other evidence—the level of the examination within a university, the university policy of distributing classes according to certain proportions, and the ability of the student as judged by his professors.

An ideal scheme, though probably not an economically feasible one, unless a number of organizations cooperated, would be to have

<sup>3</sup>See M. S. Sundaram, "The Educational Systems of India and Pakistan," a mimeographed article prepared for the National Association of Foreign Student Advisers, Embassy of India, Washington, D.C., 1954.



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an American stationed in India who could advise American groups on the qualifications of Indian applicants. The Rockefeller Foundation has achieved notable success by having in India a permanent member of its staff who checks and evaluates candidates for its grants-in-aid.

By contrast, other organizations have been more casual in their selection. One American school set up a scholarship for an Indian student at the request of an Indian visitor and gave the visitor the right to recommend a candidate when she returned home. She nominated an elderly female relative who declined. Subsequently the young daughter of the relative was chosen. The daughter did not want to leave home but was pressured into going; since her return, she says and shows that she got little out of her foreign education. In another case an Indian alumnus of an American university was asked to nominate someone for a three-year fellowship to one of the nation's top-ranking institutions. He ignored other qualified candidates and chose a friend who had barely passed in college and had little to recommend him.

Those foreign agencies that have arranged for personal interviews with candidates for their assistance and have exercised final control over the selection of candidates have had the best records in finding outstanding persons. The United States Educational Foundation is an excellent example of careful selection. There is open competition; a combined body of Americans and Indians interview each applicant; and the final decisions are made by the heads of the organization in India.

A foreign aid-to-education program that relies exclusively on those in power within India to select candidates without any other controls will net mainly persons whose chief asset is that they "stand in well" with those in power. This is not to deprecate Indian officials but to emphasize the pressures imposed on Indians who must do the selecting. In private, men with power will say that unless well-established controls are set up from the outside, they may have to acquiesce

to those who have influential sponsors in making nominations. This does not always happen, but it happens often enough to suggest the need for assuring responsible control.

*Women*

One last note on selection of students applies to policies with respect to women applicants. We recommend that the members of both sexes be judged in terms of merit and that the generalizations that have been set forth above apply equally to men and to women. We strongly suggest that no discrimination be exercised against women, or against married women, or against women with children, in selection policies. It is the custom within Indian families for the kin to take care of the spouse and children of married women studying abroad and we found that the absence of the wife or mother did not jeopardize her status in the family or the welfare of her children. Because it is the custom in India for women to marry early, exclusion of married women from foreign study would bar some of the most talented and capable.

We find no significant differences between the two sexes in their demonstrated capacity to learn in Western schools, in their adjustment back to Indian life, or in the incidence of personal success among those with careers. Although public institutions in India are dominated by men, there are ample opportunities for, and little discrimination against, the well-trained and capable woman, married or unmarried. There are foreign-educated women who hold prominent offices in civic, educational, and governmental organizations as well as some who are active in the professions. Furthermore, there are some fields in which foreign-educated women are needed, for example, education, social welfare, child welfare, and home economics.<sup>4</sup> In the future, foreign-educated women will undoubtedly

<sup>4</sup>Although we did not include practitioners of medicine in our sample, medicine is a field in which foreign-trained women have been eminently successful, especially in obstetrics and pediatrics because it is the custom of Indian women to go only to female doctors.

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have an influential role to play in the dissemination of modern concepts of social life to women—a segment of Indian society that has not had equal opportunities with men to enter into the modern world—and to future generations.

Most grants-in-aid for a foreign education do not make provision for a married man to take his wife with him. In cases in which a couple had sufficient funds to go together and the wife was interested in getting a higher education, the joint foreign experience has been eminently worth while. In some cases, the husband upon his return has found ways and means to send his wife abroad for an education. Where both husband and wife have been foreign-educated, whether jointly or at different times, not only has their family life been enriched but both have been in a stronger position to sustain the foreign-learned patterns over a lifetime and to pass them on to their children. We would recommend, therefore, that if the wife of a foreign-trained meets other requirements she should be aided.

### *TREATMENT OF INDIAN STUDENTS IN AMERICA*

In this section we have tried to recognize that the interaction between Americans and Indian students is a two-way process. Recommendations cannot be oriented solely to the needs of the foreign student; they must also take into account the character of the American people and the nature of American society and organizational arrangements.

There are genuine sources of social strength in many of the current practices. These are discussed as fully as the problems so that Americans who are doing constructive work may feel encouraged by the knowledge that what they are doing is proving to be worth while.

Our recommendations in this area are based in part upon the assessments that returned foreign students make of their experiences in the West. These reactions to the West and to Western practices are, in some instances, different from the reactions that the students expressed while in the foreign country. We all tend to redefine past

experiences in the light of subsequent experiences—and Indians are no exceptions. What may have been extremely important to the student while in the Western country may, in retrospect and from the vantage point of more mature judgment, be unimportant.

One of the questions that we asked was "What advice would you give to a person who is going to study overseas?" Quite often, in answering this question, the foreign-returned would indicate ways in which those going abroad could avoid mistakes which he had made. For example, one returned student indicated that a person studying in the West definitely should try to get practical experience, although when he himself was in America he had, by his own choice, been excused from a course that required practical work. It was only after his return to India that he recognized the value of practical experience.

Our suggestions are also based, in part, upon what leaders in India have said about the foreign-returned.

In the preceding section, our recommendations were geared largely to the selection of Indians for grants-in-aid. There are more, however, who come on family and personal funds or on a combination of a number of different kinds of financing. Although there may be some differences in the types of students who are financed by grants-in-aid and those who are not, we do not feel that this is a critical factor which would lead to special recommendations for each of the two groups. As far as we can ascertain, other variables are more important than the simple one of how they are supported. For example, the older, graduate-level person who comes on a grant-in-aid program is very like the older, graduate-level person who comes on his own funds. Therefore, we do not recommend differential treatment based on the method of financing the stay in America.

Appropriate here is a note on the general acquaintance with American life and institutions that Indian students have before coming to the United States. Though few of them are intimately acquainted with American life, most of them are not totally ignorant of Western culture. All have been exposed to Western ideas in

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school; some have been reared in Western-style homes; and most have some knowledge of Western social patterns gained through motion pictures, novels, and observation of foreigners in India. Nearly all of the students are fairly adept in the English language, though they are not conversant with American vernacular or American intonations. Since nationalization of India, however, there are indications of a general lessening of facility in the English language; thus, future Indian students will probably have greater linguistic handicaps than had those of the past. Most Indian students, before their departure, talk about America with a foreign-returned or a foreigner and perhaps read a book that offers advice on how to get along in America.<sup>5</sup>

The majority of foreign students travel by ship, and the voyage itself is an important preliminary period of transition and learning. Most of the foreign-returned say that on the voyage they became accommodated to Western food, learned manners that were practiced in the West, and formed friendships with other students which gave them security after landing. It may be noted that airplane trips are too brief to have a similar effect.

The area in which the Indian student is least prepared for his experience in America is that of American academic practices. For those students who go to England, the transition is fairly simple, inasmuch as Indian universities and colleges are modeled after English institutions. Thus, most have had no experience with the self-contained course unit, course grades, student participation in the classroom, the seminar system, objective examinations, the way in which a program of study is selected, and the emphasis upon independent thinking.

With this general background, we now turn to the recommendations that we have grouped under orientation programs, academic life, social and community life, and general notes.

<sup>5</sup>For example, G. S. Krishnayya and J. M. Kumarappa, *Going to the USA: A Guide-book for Students and Other Visitors* (Bombay: Tata Institute of Social Sciences, 2nd ed., 1952).

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### *Orientation Programs*

The idea of orientation programs for the foreign student is an American innovation that currently seems to be in the process of adoption by many groups. Like persons in any strange society, Indians, upon their arrival in the United States, have a hazy notion about the country, are unsure of themselves in practicing local customs, have some difficulty in communicating in American English, and are baffled about using the community's facilities. An orientation at the start can quicken the process of adjustment to social and academic life by learning what to expect and by reducing the distractions that inevitably occur when everything appears novel.

The objectives of the six-week orientation program supported by the United States Department of State seem to cover adequately the needs of the foreign students at the start of their stay in America. They are:

. . . to provide an opportunity for students to become adjusted to the social environment of the United States; to introduce them to American society and culture; to prepare them for academic and administrative procedures in the United States institutions of higher learning; and to give those students who need it confidence and facility in the use of the English language.

The State Department's orientation program is available to only a small proportion of Indian students studying in America. Its very cost may prohibit its extension to all Indian students in America. However, approximations can be made by various agencies and academic institutions. For example, colleges and universities that could provide for foreign students even as much orientation as they provide for American students in "Freshman Week" would substantially further Indian students' adjustment.

If funds are limited, we suggest that emphasis be put on orientation to academic life and on language aid for those who need it rather than on adjustment to social life. Most students are primarily

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academically goal-oriented, and familiarity with American academic practices plus language facility would immeasurably aid initial adjustment.

The suggestion to put adjustment to social life in secondary place, if funds are lacking, is made for two reasons. (1) Most Indians show a readiness to adapt to social expectancies and can make fairly good adjustments on their own. A favorite expression among the Indians is, "When in Rome, do as the Romans do." We found very few Indians who so failed in their personal adjustments that they had to give up and return to India. Most of the foreign-returned, in retrospect, rate the problem of social adjustment in America as of secondary importance. (2) Social adjustment is facilitated by a number of other social structures. The American people themselves, both members of the community and students, go out of their way to help strangers in their midst, and the foreign-student groups on the campus do much to aid adjustment in this area. But there are no similar structures to aid the student in academic and language adjustment, each of which may need more professional types of help.

An orientation program, like the boat trip, also enables Indian students to establish friendships with students from other foreign countries, with other Indian students, and with Americans that give them anchorage during the period of foreign study.

From all this we infer that an orientation at the start is helpful in reducing the time required to adjust. Because the approach is in harmony with the American pattern of being helpful to strangers, orientation is useful, if for no other reason, in setting the tone for the Indian students' relations with Americans.

Though less common, orientation of the students prior to departure for their homeland is being increasingly used. The main interest in this type of orientation centers around helping the student to prepare for readjustment to his own country. We believe that the chief value of a reorientation program would be in aiding the individual to consolidate and clarify his thinking on his experiences in America. Too few Americans know enough about Indian conditions to offer sound guidance on personal adjustments in India,

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and most Indians do not have a real problem in working their way back into the social life of their community. A briefing would not have any profound effect on those who have serious personality problems that will impede their readjustment. The very real problem that many do face in terms of employment opportunities in India is one to which Americans can bring very little help or realistic advice at that point.

The genius of an orientation course, whether it be at the beginning or the end, depends on the quality of the leadership. Instruction on the surface facts of American life, such as social niceties, tipping, travel, and so on, can be given by anyone who is both knowledgeable and able to communicate. However, discussion of such topics as American culture and international relations calls for a sophisticated mind. The average Indian in America, like the American in India, is culturally and politically self-conscious. Resentment is aroused by patronizing attitudes that imply inferiority of the Indian's cultural and political position, although Indians may be too polite to express this resentment openly. Many Indian students have analytical talents, whether they are well informed or not, and are most responsive to those whose abilities and knowledge they can respect. Résumés of the obvious, which verge on platitudes, or ethnocentric formulations that appear to be thinly disguised propaganda to "sell" America elicit a polite but indifferent audience response. The assignment of leadership in intellectual discussions, therefore, should be to persons who are competent, perceptive, and sensitive rather than to those who happen to be free from other duties, or have traveled abroad, or have an "interest" in foreign students—and little else besides.

### *Academic Life*

TYPE OF INSTITUTION. There has been speculation as to what constitutes the best type of American school for Indians to attend. Our findings fail to show that there are any universal rules that can be applied to all Indian students in the United States. Some seem



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to get more out of a small institution, others out of a large institution; some seem to profit from being at a school that has many foreign students, others at a school that has few foreign students; there seem to be no significant differences in the characteristics of the foreign-returned directly attributable to the region of the United States in which they attended school or to whether the school was in a metropolitan or small-town community.

American schools have varying reputations in India. Some are known to be outstanding in a specific field of training; others are known as places where Indians are exceptionally well received. None is reputed to discriminate against Indian students.

Most students in India apply for admission to several schools and usually take the first firm offer of admission that they receive. A minority change schools during the course of their stay for a variety of reasons: they hear of a place that offers a curriculum closer to their field of interest; they want to reside in another part of the country for a time; they want to be with a friend attending another institution.

We see no great need for an expansion in services for Indians seeking advice on schools to attend in America. The foreign-returned and the Indian professors offer guidance to large numbers; both the Indian and American governments have arrangements for doing the same; and several Indian universities have foreign-student bureaus, although these bureaus are of uneven quality—some are excellent and others might be improved by being staffed with someone who has first-hand knowledge of American institutions. Which school an Indian student attends should depend in part on his personal predilections, abilities, and the field of interest and in part on the decision of the American academic institution to admit him.

STANDARDS OF PERFORMANCE. A common dilemma among American educators is whether to be lenient or strict in applying academic standards to foreign students. Both American administrators and professors tend to feel especially sympathetic to the foreign student. As a result, they are troubled about what decisions to make

when a student is well below average in ability or below average in performance because of financial or personal difficulties. They are especially troubled when the person with low performance has been sent by either the Indian or American government and is scheduled to take over a position of responsibility upon his return.

Most Indian students have some academic troubles by the middle of the first quarter or semester because of the dissimilarities between Indian and American academic routines. Those who have had orientation to academic life seem to have fewer difficulties, but even they have some. Indians have to get used to doing regular class assignments each week, to taking quizzes and tests in which the time allowed for answering the questions is tightly restricted, to becoming used to the professor's pronunciation of English, to participating in classroom discussion, and to using laboratory equipment. Also, the general pace of academic life is faster in America than in India.

We believe that the average Indian student can benefit from some leniency during the first six months or so, but that after the period of transition is over, the student should be expected to meet the same standards as those set for local students and to be graded strictly according to performance.

The reasons for this recommendation grow out of a recognition of the long-range effects that the lowering of American academic standards has in India. Indian leaders are rather critical of the American practice of lowering standards out of good will. They say that charity and education should not be confused, that it does no honor to American schools to pass Indians as competently trained when in fact they are not, and that it is no service to India to get back students with higher degrees that qualify them for positions that they are not equipped to fill. The presence in an Indian organization of mediocre or poorly trained persons with American degrees serves as an example to other low-caliber persons of what can be achieved in the United States, lessens the prestige of the American degrees held by able persons, indirectly encourages the selection by those in authority of additional persons of the same kind to send for study, and, in general, lowers the respect for the American educa-

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tional system. One of the reasons why British degrees receive greater respect than their American equivalents is that English educators, though sympathetic to Indian students, maintain their standards.

American leniency based on the mistaken notion that India needs all the trained people she can get and that any American training is better than Indian training is especially resented. It cannot be taken for granted that an underdeveloped country like India suffers from a shortage of intelligent persons to send abroad for training or that the country urgently needs every person it can get with a foreign training.

Similarly, a note of caution needs to be sounded about the American practice of writing glowing letters of recommendation for Indian students before they leave for home. The word has gotten around in some Indian circles that American letters are unreliable and so are being discounted. The head of one department in the government had a foreign-trained applicant who showed him supporting American letters describing him as a man who was outstanding in ability and character and who could do much for his country. Puzzled after an interview revealed the applicant to be far below average, the department head sent a letter of inquiry to an acquaintance on the staff of the American university which the applicant had attended. The reply was to the effect that the applicant had barely gotten through the training, that some requirements that had proved too difficult for him had been waived, but that the general hope was that he might do some good in an underdeveloped country. Such irresponsible practices can only serve to lower American institutions and American degree holders in the eyes of Indians.

**TYPE OF TRAINING.** As in the case of institutions, there are no generalizations about the best type of training that can apply to all Indian students, but there are certain generalizations that can be made in terms of the capabilities of the student, the objectives of a foreign education, and the employment possibilities within India.

If the foreign student is older and is either on leave from a position or knows exactly where he will be employed upon his return, then a specialized training oriented toward the cultivation of specific

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skills applicable to the Indian position may be indicated. For those who are younger, who have not yet begun their careers in India, or who view the position from which they are on leave as only a steppingstone upward, then a broad training which places emphasis upon methodology, underlying principles and practical experience is to be preferred.

It is rare for the foreign-educated to be employed in posts that correspond to their specialized fields of training; seldom does an Indian technician work for a lifetime in a narrow specialty, and very often he will work at a great variety of tasks. Consequently, competency in a variety of subjects has greater likelihood than rigid specialization of qualifying the individual for whatever specialized posts may be available when he is job seeking. Furthermore, as the Indian moves up in any bureaucracy (whether it be government, education, or business), he will assume more administrative functions which require not only acquaintance with a diversity of subjects but also organizational skills. For example, the engineer who has broad engineering training and also knows something about business organization and labor relations is in a better position to qualify for a position and to use American training to advantage than is one who knows only electrical engineering. Or, again, a general training in agriculture and extension principles is sounder than an education confined to plant pathology or entomology.

Our records show that Indian students who are well trained in methodology and principles are better prepared to work in India than are others not so trained. They are able to strip away the cultural patterns surrounding their acquired skills and to apply them to Indian conditions. Courses that provide a body of facts about American conditions and those that instruct the student to collect in the library comparable facts about India offer far less that is useful than do courses in methods and principles.

To overcome the tendency among Indian students to be dazzled by American developments and to believe that they can be copied intact in India, the individual should be guided into studying the

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organizational and administrative principles that lie behind the existing forms. Americans have mastered skills in the development and improvisation of enterprises to meet practical needs; these are skills worth learning, rather than the exact forms in which they are applied to local conditions. For example, it would be more appropriate to learn the way in which America organized itself to combat the depression than to describe the present condition of American production. Indian leaders do not want to hear how things are in America; rather, they want to hear how the American-trained could show ingenuity in attacking India's problems.

The agricultural extension services in the United States can serve as an example of what we mean. Extension work in America consists of an accumulated body of social techniques on how to transmit scientific knowledge useful to American farmers. Indian students of agriculture could profit from working with a county agricultural agent to learn his methods for relating himself to the farmers and communicating with them, how local enterprises can be organized and sustained, and the methods by which practical information can be diffused. This cannot be accomplished by a one-day visit to a county seat and a tour of prosperous farms. Often the county agent may not be able to describe what he does that is effective, for he is not that self-conscious about his methods. But by continuous association over a period of time the outsider can begin to understand the pattern of practices and adjust them to fit Indian conditions.

Institutions that have courses requiring the student to work with his hands in a laboratory, factory, farm, or community should not waive these courses for the foreign student on the ground that they do not help prepare the student for work in India. On the contrary, we suggest that such courses be required or, where they are optional, that the Indian student be strongly urged to enroll in them. Practical field work and actual experience with equipment instills in the Indian student much greater self-confidence than he would otherwise have. Practical work in connection with academic training is rated by the foreign-returned as among their most valuable ex-

periences and is rated high by Indians in a position to employ the foreign-trained.

One of the attractions of an American education for Indians is the chance to study first hand an advanced technology with its related economic and social structures. We favor encouraging Indian students to seek practical work experience to implement their formal education. Persons with such experience in addition to formal training display in India a more intimate understanding of actual enterprises, are more self-confident of their abilities, and are regarded by Indian employers with greater confidence than are persons without such additional experience. We believe that more that is applicable in India is learned by working in one organization than is learned by visiting a number of organizations as observers. Many Indians take tours to various parts of the country to view enterprises in their field of interest. They have less to show for the time spent than do Indians who concentrated on knowing well one or two enterprises.

Even those who work as common laborers on jobs unconnected with their specialized field are getting an experience that few professional men ever obtain in India. By working with their hands they learn the meaning of work and something of the American conception of the dignity of labor, and they gain an understanding of the American workingman.

A question that disturbs many American educators is whether to encourage Indians to work toward higher degrees or to discourage them. There is no doubt about the prestige that higher degrees carry in India. Degrees give the individuals greater bargaining power in a restricted labor market, and most of them feel that they have "nothing to show" for their years abroad if they have not qualified for some degree. Whether the person should get a degree, however, should not be decided simply on the basis that a degree is valuable to him in India. As was pointed out earlier, the granting of "cheap" degrees is a disservice both to India and to the United States, however much the incompetent person may desire a degree. There is, however, one possible alternative. The pattern of the "double graduate," that is, the holder of two bachelor of arts degrees or two master's

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degrees, is well known and accepted in India. There may be some who have neither the time nor the competence to qualify for a highly specialized research doctorate but who could still qualify for, or have the time to take, a second bachelor's or master's degree. However, we would again caution against "giving" either degree to those who do not earn it.

Owing to the lack of vocational guidance in India or to misplaced ambitions, some Indian students elect work in fields for which they are not suited. American schools should make allowance, however, for the bright Indian student who is trying to test what he is able to do. Schools that have done so have helped a number of persons who were originally in unsuitable fields to find themselves and to make a satisfactory place for themselves in India. Care should be exercised in helping a student to avoid a field in which he may show great aptitude but for which there are no realistic employment opportunities in India. Even though Americans may be convinced that India "needs" a specific type of training, it does not follow that India can or will employ people with that type of training.

One final note on academic problems. The gains of academic training depend as much on the chance to associate with outstanding scholars and men of great spirit as they do on taking a large number of courses. Indian students who have been inspired by a distinguished mind, rate the association as one of their most valuable foreign experiences. Where alternative schedules are possible, there would be considerable advantage in allowing an advanced Indian student to work for credit as an assistant to a notable scientist or scholar or to meet with him in a tutorial capacity.

### *Social and Community Life*

The American pattern of informally accepting the strange foreigner as an equal, the warm personalizing of human relations that cuts across cultural boundary lines, and the readiness to lend a helping hand are all highly appreciated by the foreign students and combine to build a fund of good will for the American people. Al-

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most without exception, Indians who have studied in America have favorable things to say about American hospitality.

The landlady, regardless of whether or not she is educated herself, who takes an Indian student into her home and treats him as a member of her family, the family that establishes a "home away from home" for the Indian student whether or not the student resides full time with the family, and the professor who takes an interest in the personal development of a student, all render significant services. Anything that is done to encourage and extend this kind of treatment will accrue to the benefit of the Indian student, to the benefit of the Americans involved, and ultimately to good will between the two countries.

The foreign-returned report that families in the upper and upper-middle classes are more available to them than are middle- and lower-class families. The ordinary city and farm family could play a part in opening up more fully the American way of life to Indian students. These families may be more hesitant than are those in the upper-middle levels to have an Indian student as a household guest, but invitations would be most welcomed by the Indian students, and we believe that the American families would find it a rewarding experience. Most Indian students want to meet people from all sections of the community. Back home they are asked more often about the way of life of the workingman, the farmer, and the small businessman than about the upper classes in America. The very wealthy in the United States are well known as a social class, but the social circles in which most foreign-returned move cannot identify with them. How plain people live is less well known, but there does exist a latent feeling of a common bond. Perhaps labor unions and farm organizations could be activated to take an interest.

The foreign students are granted greater access to the purely social side of American life than to the intellectual and arts groups. Recent returnees, more so than earlier ones, comment that they found little intellectual stimulus and had little opportunity for exchange of ideas—on or off the campus. This was especially true of



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those attending school in nonmetropolitan areas. Because so many Indian students are in technical fields, they seldom get into classroom discussions of social issues, political problems, and culture in general. They find the present generation of American undergraduates preoccupied with college life, sports, and dates and somewhat inarticulate in the field of ideological and social values. When the Indians are invited to homes outside the college community, it is more likely to be for a formal social occasion, such as a Thanksgiving or Christmas dinner, than for discussion of ideas. The fact that they are asked to talk to church groups and social clubs is appreciated, but such talks are far from the desired level of discussion. Most of the organizations that cater to Indian students are more social than intellectual centers. It would be erroneous to claim that all Indian students are intellectuals; yet most of them desire opportunities to explore ideas or are simply groping for ideas.

To fill this gap, informal discussion groups that would make possible a free meeting of minds might be sponsored on the campus or in the community and opened to interested students and townspeople. They must be more than "good will" sessions in which each foreign student tells something about the quaint customs of his country and each American makes platitudinous remarks about America. To indicate the kind of topics we have in mind, we suggest, as a point of departure, the development of modern science and its application to human affairs, the role of the United Nations in international conflicts, the current trends in Western literature and fine arts, American character, the development of less-advanced economies.

Another real possibility within the existing community resources would be "off the record" meetings in which the main discussant might be a community figure active in voluntary enterprises, a local newspaper editor, a small businessman, a union official, a local politician, an administrator of a government agency, a college professor engaged in research, and so forth. These meetings should be designed as earnest and frank explorations of ideas and should be safe-

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guarded against becoming stilted presentations followed by the usual polite questions and answers.<sup>6</sup>

Professional, technical, and business associations could reveal other facets of American life by inviting Indians with interest and competence in their field of activity to attend local and national conferences. Indians who have attended such meetings in the past report that the meetings gave them a unique chance to meet the leaders and fellow workers in their fields and also gave them a sense of belonging to groups that transcend national boundaries.

There is no dearth of possibilities for social entertainment for Indian students in the community, and we see no reason for proposing more than already exists.

### *UTILIZING THE FOREIGN-EDUCATED IN INDIA*

On the basis of our interviews, we advance the thesis that a disproportionate amount of attention, funds, and effort is being concentrated on the provision of opportunities for a foreign education in contrast with the currently more critical problem of making effective use of the foreign-educated. It is our contention that a better balance is needed. The pros and cons of this issue are presented here so that the reader may be conversant with both sides of the issue.

In support of the contention, we question the assumption that because India is an underdeveloped country it therefore requires increasing numbers of Western-trained persons in all fields to make up the deficiency.<sup>7</sup> It will be recalled that the findings of our survey

<sup>6</sup>The Cooperative Forum of Washington, D.C., is an ideal type; only people who are interested in a topic attend, and the topic is presented by a well-informed person in an off-the-record discussion.

<sup>7</sup>This statement has to be qualified. Owing to the absence of up-to-date, comprehensive figures on occupations that have a shortage or an abundance of trained manpower, no one knows certainly what are the unmet needs for professionals and technicians. The section of the National Planning Commission on technical manpower is unable to make current estimates until the national plans have taken firmer shape. Recently a committee to consider the matter has been reactivated and is beginning inquiries.

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include the discovery that a sizable percentage of the foreign-educated are not working in the fields for which they were trained, are employed in positions where they do not have the authority and influence to introduce the technology and modern practices learned, or lack the means to use fully on their jobs the acquired skills. Furthermore, additional persons are being sent or are going on their own resources for advanced training in subjects where others already trained are either unemployed or underemployed. The incidence of frustration among the foreign-trained is fairly high, for most seem to have expectations in excess of present opportunities.

Certain social facts on the other side of the question cannot be ignored. Although it is true that at this time there are growing numbers of educated who are unemployed, this fact cannot be made the basis of long-range appraisals. The total opportunities open to the foreign-educated are greater now than they were a generation or more ago, and present conditions cannot serve as a sound basis for estimates of future requirements. The Indian economy is in transition and just as it would not have been possible in the depression years to predict American manpower needs today, so, too, the present sag in the Indian economy may not be a sound basis for forecasting the future. The country can gain from having a stockpile of trained personnel to meet any expansion in the forthcoming years. The foreign-returned may not be working now in their field of specialization; but most of them are ultimately absorbed in the labor market, and they can do constructive things on any job if they are resourceful. The real problem in India now is not to give to each trained person work that fits his interests, but to provide work of any sort for as many people as possible. Some Indian leaders believe that a discontented class of foreign-returned is a social asset, for they can be a spur to action and by their self-efforts help to improve existing conditions.

There are no simple solutions for these problems. It is tempting for the evaluators of any social enterprise, in their enthusiasm over the possibilities of improvement and out of an earnest desire for perfecting the imperfect, to draw up an impressive list of recom-

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mendations. Three self-imposed restrictions govern our proposals. First, such recommendations must call for no major expansion of the total funds, but must be concentrated on suggesting a better balance in the distribution of the resources that can be used on behalf of foreign education programs. Second, the recommendations must be applicable within the existing social patterns and conditions of India; they cannot call for basic changes in the social organization of existing institutions or in the common forms of personal behavior. By this standard, for example, it would not be feasible to urge the abandonment of the prevailing system of influence and its replacement by a strict merit system in the assignment of work opportunities to individuals. Third, plans must not require a whole new superstructure with a vast scope of authority and responsibility. Bureaucracies in all societies tend to become ends in themselves and to curtail the area of self-effort by those most directly involved.

With these strictures in mind, we make the following recommendations:

### *Aid to the Foreign-Returned in India*

American groups who are interested in furthering international exchange of information could apply some of their funds to helping the foreign-educated in India instead of putting more and more money into grants-in-aid to help persons to go abroad for foreign studies, which is the present trend. No matter how well trained and highly motivated a professional person is, he cannot work solely with his mind or improvise whatever is needed for research. In India, technical equipment, professional journals and books, and materials with which to conduct investigations are relatively scarce and difficult to obtain when needed. Research funds that would free teachers from heavy teaching loads to do scientific work would enable many competent scientists to become more productive scholars and to shift from writing endless streams of essays to doing basic empirical research.

In field after field among the sciences, leading figures report that there is no real dearth of able scholars who are well trained, but that

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they have little to show for their efforts. High-ranking administrators are disposed to blame the scientists for shortcomings, and challenge them again and again to improvise with what is at hand, without appreciating the preconditions for scientific output. In most academic institutions, funds available for research are meager and allocation of government funds is often made by men who have no detailed knowledge of the requirements of scientific work.

We met an outstanding chemist who for years has been trying to do research that requires materials his salary does not permit him to buy, engineers in a college who lack the facilities for their work, and more than one man in the field of agriculture who confessed that they could not afford to buy the latest books in their disciplines and felt behind the times in their field of work. In fields best known to us, anthropology and sociology, despite the presence of several competent social scientists, there are few first-rate empirical field studies being done on social life and culture.

There is no opposition or indifference, but lack of resources for the foreign-trained in many places. As one of the foreign-returned put it:

I would say that a young trained Indian is as competent as any young trained American or Englishman, but after twenty years of working with inadequate equipment and being isolated from recent developments, the Indian falls behind.

Private foundations may consider whether it might not be a sounder investment to aid those already foreign-trained by research grants-in-aid than to concentrate further funds on training more and more men. Such a plan would require as much careful concern for procedures as has been expended in the United States on the grants-in-aid programs. A lump sum allotment of funds to the administration or institutions would not assure its being channelized into the areas where it could be used most effectively.

Indian community trust funds might well re-examine their policies also, since most of them were formulated when there was a shortage of financial aid for study abroad. Part of their revolving

funds could be set aside to be used as loans to the foreign-returned who have difficulty raising the capital to start private businesses or carry out research projects.

*Placement of the Foreign-Educated*

Placement of the foreign-returned deserves as much attention—by governments, business firms, missionary groups, foreign foundations, and community trust funds—as the sending of Indians for foreign study.

Most Indians study abroad on their own resources and on their own responsibility; it would be asking too much to propose that any organization assume responsibility for their future employment. However, if persons are being sent by an organization, there should be organizational responsibility to assure effective use of the foreign-returned. It is self-defeating to make no adequate arrangements for their use in the work for which they were sent to be trained in the first place; it is not sound financially to send more men for training in a field for which there are already men who are trained but unused within an organization.

There is a marked contrast between the efficient use of the foreign-trained by organizations whose authorities make a concerted effort to relate plans for the selection of persons for foreign training and plans for their assignment after their return, and by those which do not. Greater effectiveness of the foreign-educated would be brought about if the two types of authority could be integrated.

There is an even greater contrast between organizations whose informal policies include the posting of the foreign-returned in departments where their training can be used and where the department head is eager to have the foreign-trained and organizations that have no policy of this kind. In the latter type, the foreign-trained may be placed under an administrator who is scornful of foreign training and more interested in “cutting them down to size” than in making full use of their skills. Or they may be put in a position that has responsibility but no authority to introduce what they have

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learned. So many cases of this kind are known that they cannot be dismissed as exceptions to the general rule. A follow-up inspection service with vision and authority could detect the unused trained personnel and by proper reassignment pay for itself in improved production.

We do not mean that the foreign-returned should be given priority over the locally-trained as a matter of public policy. We support the present policies which in principle appraise men for jobs on the basis of their actual competence, regardless of how they acquired it. But we believe that greater care in husbanding the investment made in the foreign-educated would reduce the present losses.

Foreign organizations located in India could benefit by making sure that they are making the best use of their foreign-trained. We completely endorse the policies of foreign firms who are sending Indians on their staff to study abroad and are even offering grants-in-aid to good prospects for future employment. These firms must face the fact that the government will bring increasing pressure on them to Indianize their management. Thus, it is in their own self-interest to copy the policies of firms that are already looking ahead. But in any case, the foreign-returned serve most efficiently and loyally when they are treated as coequals in pay and rank with the nationals of the firm who have the same level in training and experience. To place them under persons who have inferior backgrounds is destructive of morale. Missionary groups who send Indians for foreign education will also find it mutually advantageous to treat the foreign-returned as associates rather than as assistants. Indians trained abroad are resentful when they are accorded poorer amenities than Westerners from the same mission simply because they are Indians.

### *Foreign Experts versus Foreign-Educated Experts*

Greater use could be made of the foreign-educated as technical experts in place of foreign experts. This often-voiced proposal in India has significance far beyond the provision of employment or

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even the securing of high-ranking positions for a few more of the foreign-trained. It is proposed for reasons other than those frequently given by Indian critics of present policies, namely, that the foreign expert is more expensive to hire, that the best are seldom prepared to stay in India long enough to understand Indian conditions, and that some so-called "experts" are known as that only when outside their native habitat.

The heart of the matter is this: to build a modern, self-dependent nation on an enduring basis requires that its leaders recognize the roles that its technicians and professional men must play. They have to be given a chance to develop in stature and to gain experience by serving in vital capacities. Failure to do so robs them of their self-confidence and also precludes the building up of public confidence in them. Present practices of relying on the foreign expert's advice and work in preference to that of an Indian with equal competence indirectly perpetuate the colonial mentality. As Indians well know from the past, the employment of well-trained Indians as subordinates to foreigners prepares men for subordinate roles; it does not prepare men to exercise leadership in their fields. The faith of Indian technicians is undermined when they see those in power turn to foreigners for guidance on important technical problems; it is demoralizing for the Indian to have his plans subjected to a cross-check with a Western textbook; it is humiliating for Indians with extensive training in the best Western schools to be kept on the sidelines while foreign experts make quick tours to tell the officials what they ought to be doing.

Even in India there is an unconscious tendency to assume that India is without well-trained experts. And in some Indian quarters there is also the tendency to treat an Indian professional or technician as outstanding only if he has been accorded recognition in the West. Some who are unable to assess an expert act on the principle that it is safer to depend on a foreigner than on an Indian, assuming that a foreigner with a reputation as an expert is more likely to be one than is the Indian with the same status.



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It may be true, as is often claimed, that Indian organizations have such a small capital reserve that they dare not take risks with untried Indian experts, but we are far from being convinced that public officials have thoroughly explored the possibilities of utilizing the foreign-educated and experienced Indian technicians. Furthermore, from our studies in the field we conclude that where Indian technicians with ability have been given a chance to exercise leadership in positions of responsibility and have been allowed the same degree of freedom as is accorded the foreigner, the Indians have produced impressive results.

The present technical-aid programs sponsored by foreign governments and international agencies might be able in many instances to obtain qualified Indian experts trained in the West. We have observed cases in which foreign technicians were imported to do a job that could have been done equally well by local Indian technicians. Present administrative regulations that prevent such agencies from employing foreign-trained Indians should be reviewed and, if possible, changed. By these means a larger contribution might be made toward the development of all underdeveloped societies, for not only would the economy benefit but a reservoir of men who must have key roles in a modern economy would be built up.

### *Voluntary Organizations*

There is one area that we should like to consider but for which we can make no clear recommendations. This is the field of voluntary organizations. Voluntary associations engaged in social reforms and education have occupied a prominent place in the history of Bombay State, and the foreign-educated have been attracted in the past to serve in these "societies" as lifetime members. Most of these associations have offered greater opportunities for those who wished to serve their country than have other types of organizations. More than other social structures they have been set up along democratic lines; the life members share equally in the decision making of the group and are given greater latitude to participate and innovate.

Although voluntary associations continue to be viable, their place in the larger society is changing, and in view of this change a smaller percentage of the foreign-trained are attracted into this type of activity. There has been little disintegration of private societies, but the rate of formation of new ones seems to be less than before independence. There are several possible reasons for these trends.

During the period of subordination, the British imposed few restraints on the formation of groups engaged in social services and education, and many private societies were organized apart from British control.<sup>8</sup> So long as these groups were concentrated on welfare and educational activities, they did not compete with British enterprises and were of little threat to the regime. At the same time, there were organizations oriented toward the throwing off of colonial rule. Among the Indians, opinion was divided as to whether efforts should be directed toward social reforms or toward political reforms. Organizations oriented toward both these ends flourished, but as the independence movement burgeoned, the concentration on the struggle for freedom increasingly channelized social efforts into the political sphere. The foreign-educated as well as the locally-educated entered the political movement in fairly large numbers during the final years of the contest, and the social-reform societies became mere holding operations.

In some countries that have achieved independence there has been a proliferation of voluntary organizations. This has not occurred to the same extent in Bombay State and may be due, in part, to the role of the state in society. The new government which came into being in India was conceived as a welfare state, and perhaps this fact has prevented private groups from assuming authority and responsibility in spheres that are now defined as being within the province of governmental action. The government has absorbed some of the voluntary organizations, and its close control over certain others has

<sup>8</sup>Examples are educational societies, which have established schools from the primary through the college level; societies dedicated to the problems of orphans; societies working to raise the status of women and widows; organizations for the dissemination of birth-control information; groups which have established hospitals.

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had an impact on older groups. All of this may have reduced the stimulus to form new groups engaged in social and educational services.

Appeals by higher authorities to the spirit of self-sacrifice and admonitions to work on behalf of the general welfare fail to activate people who have had so many years of deprivation and who feel that the burdens of the new country are not being shared equally by all. Certainly the emotional strain and personal losses suffered in the struggle for freedom have left marks on many. Perhaps it will take a fresh generation to recover the zeal of the past.

We gained the impression that a framework based on the nature of the new social world, on a definition of where the country is going and around what goals individuals and groups could organize for action, was lacking.

The elite in the towns and cities that we surveyed appear to be in transition. We found that some of the families and subcastes that had had prominent parts in civic affairs are inactive at present and are not even thinking about the establishment of new voluntary organizations. Some of the older joint families and subcaste communities with histories of civic leadership are breaking up, and individuals are moving out while others are centering their interests in the struggle for economic survival. The foreign-trained who are members of the elite by birth or who enter high social positions seem to be trying to adjust to their environment rather than trying to reorganize and change it.

All of this is not to suggest that voluntary associations are disintegrating or no longer have significant roles. Most of the foreign-educated who participate in the private societies feel that they are making important contributions to the country. But there exists in the current period, comparatively little social leadership in civic affairs and philanthropic activities. How temporary this condition is, we cannot say. How such organizations can be activated, we are at a loss to suggest. But there is an enormous reservoir of untapped elites and experts who wish to serve society and whose efforts could be channelized through voluntary organizations.

GENERAL POLICIES ON FOREIGN EDUCATION

*Free Exchange*

Should national policies on the education of Indians in America become the subject of review and further decision by the higher authorities in the two governments, we recommend the continuation of the present free exchange of students within existing arrangements.

Foreign education merits continuation because it is of mutual advantage to both countries. For India, the foreign-educated add to the country's fund of knowledge on new technology and methods; they help to sustain the flow of fresh ideas and the infusion of Western ways. For the United States, educating Indian students is a constructive service to another democracy; an opportunity to make American values better known. For each, it is one of the many cultural bridges that span the vast distance between two great nations of the world. No modern nation, whether it be striving to develop a decent level of living for its people or to exercise global leadership can be self-sufficient in an interdependent world.

Granted that the Indian economy has not been expanding fast enough to absorb fully the foreign-educated, we think that the solution of the problem does not lie in an enforced reduction of the numbers allowed to study abroad. To impose restrictions on the free mobility of students would necessitate regulative mechanisms to coordinate the supply of trained manpower with manpower requirements. We doubt the wisdom of such a scheme. Setting priorities demands sufficient information to estimate future needs, and that kind of information is not available.<sup>9</sup> The enforcement of constraints in a noncritical sphere of social life does violence to the basic prin-

<sup>9</sup>The problem of balancing requirements and educated personnel is not unique to India, see "Editorial," *Overseas Education*, XIX: 577-579, Oct., 1947, and J. S. Furnivall, *Educational Progress in Southeast Asia* (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1943).

## *Recommendations*

ciples of a democratic society and a free world. In accordance with a previous proposal, we favor, instead, voluntary measures within the present framework that could facilitate the effective use of the foreign-educated.

### *Shared Responsibility*

Wherever practical, financial assistance extended by American groups for programs fostering foreign education for Indians should include plans whereby the costs are shared by Indian groups. No fixed ratio is possible but for long-range programs it might be sound policy to anticipate the time when Indian groups are able to carry a greater share of the desired programs.

This type of joint enterprise has the positive advantage of being truly cooperative and makes for a shared sense of responsibility for the accomplishment of results. Working together as coequals and associates means preserving the dignity of all who participate in a program and avoids the latent tensions inherent in an international relationship where one group is the donor and the other is the recipient. An additional advantage is that aid from Indian private groups may be activated by having outside help contingent upon Indian contributions.

### *Small-Scale Efforts*

We would encourage many small-scale efforts undertaken by a number of groups rather than any large-scale program under a unified organization.

That which is engaged in on a limited scale can be more thoroughly administered and experimented with to ascertain what is feasible. Pilot projects may not show significant results for the whole country at once, but they avoid overcommitment to schemes that may be found wanting in their application, and that, in the subsequent disillusionment, be abandoned. Once a small successful

## *The Western-Educated Man in India*

scheme has been worked out, it can be duplicated elsewhere. Foreign education, as we have seen, has many dimensions and can be aided by many different approaches.

There is ample scope for nongovernmental groups in America and in India to play a vital part in the education of Indians and in the aiding of the educated in India. The need is not for generous contributions to expand the numbers of foreign-trained, but for realistic aid that will have the hoped-for consequences.

### *A FINAL NOTE*

Any social enterprise that embraces two or more cultures is bound to pose questions for decision among those directly concerned with the achievement of its aims. In a world of crises, it would be overly optimistic to expect perfection; in a world of change, it would be overly pessimistic to presume failure. Between these obvious extremes lies the potential of constructive action. Although only a few can make the great decisions that govern the destinies of nations, there is within the province of the ordinary individual the means to help make such enterprises as the exchange of students achieve the ends in view. Who can deny that some obscure, small effort may, in the years ahead, have decisive consequences far beyond the more conspicuous ones made by the leading figures of our time?

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